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A Grammar

OF THE

DIALECT OF WINDHILL,

IN THE

WEST RIDING OF YORKSHIRE.

Illustrated by a Series of Dialect Specimens, phonetically rendered; with a Glossarial Index of the Words used in the Grammar and Specimens.

BY

JOSEPH WRIGHT, M.A., Ph.D.,

DEPUTY PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

'Nur das Beispiel führt zum Licht; Vieles Reden thut es nicht.'

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Orford

HORACE HART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

To My Mother



PREFACE

My chief object in writing the following Grammar has been to furnish specialists in English philology with an accurate account of the Phonology and Accidence of one of the most interesting of the Yorkshire dialects. order to make the work as useful as possible to this class of scholars, I have taken special care to include in the Phonology fairly complete lists of the words which are in common use in the dialect and also exist in the literary language. This method of treatment has sometimes involved me in great difficulties; because in the case of words which seem to have had an abnormal development I could not always decide with certainty whether the seeming irregularities had arisen within the dialect itself, or whether the words in question had been introduced from the literary language at various periods, or were merely borrowings from some neighbouring dialect. These are difficulties which every writer of a scientific dialect grammar has to contend with. But it would manifestly have been dishonest on my part to have omitted any word or form which did not seem to have had a regular development. The result is that the grammar contains dozens of words the vocalism of which I have not been able to explain satisfactorily, but I have nevertheless registered them in separate paragraphs, as being in common use in the dialect and of equal importance to the English philologist. Out of a great many such examples I will only mention a few here: nuez (OE. nosu) nose, bied (OE. beard) beard, ut (OE. hat) hot, friet (OE. fretan) to fret, for which we should expect in the dialect noiz (§§ 105, 109), bād (§§ 61, 68), uet (§§ 122, 126), freit (§§ 82, 87). On the other hand, the present grammar will, I trust, help to throw some light upon Old English vowel quantities, besides showing how dialects still keep apart many vowel sounds which have fallen together in the literary language. the latter I will only mention a few examples, although a great many may be found in the grammar:—jād (OE. geard) yard, jied (OE. gerd) yard, three feet. wak (OE. weorc) work, wek (OE. wyrcan) to work. meil (OE. melu) meal, flour, miel (OE. mæl) meal, repast. reit (OE. reoht, reht) right, rait (OE. wrītan) to write, rīt (OE. wyrhta) wright.

In the treatment of the native element contained in the grammar I have generally started out from Old English, which in some respects presents fewer difficulties to the writer of a modern dialect grammar than Middle English with its numerous dialects. Had I, however, been a specialist in this period of our mother tongue, I should probably have been able to settle many minor points which remain unsolved in the present grammar. But still, in spite of my shortcomings in this respect, I hope that the book will be a welcome contribution to English philology.

In the treatment of the French element in the dialect I found, after trying many experiments, that the only

satisfactory plan was to start out from the present pronunciation of literary English. The words have come into the dialect at various periods and through various channels, and it is accordingly almost impossible to treat them historically. I have therefore contented myself with registering the present dialectical pronunciation of the French element, and for this purpose I have adopted, as the standard of literary English pronunciation, the soundsystem in Sweet's Primer of Spoken English, which is fairly typical of the Southern pronunciation of educated people. A comparison of the development of the French and English elements in the dialect is interesting from many points of view. I will only draw attention to §§ 61, 203 and §§ 58, 202; but many other paragraphs will be found equally interesting both to English and French philologists. Any one, who is not thoroughly acquainted with the dialect, may possibly think that I have introduced into this part of the grammar many words which are not in common use; but such is not the case. I have been particularly careful in this respect. I will only mention one instance out of many where I may seem to have erred: raiet akt riot act, which is one of the commonest expressions in the dialect, a regular household phrase. What mother has not said to her naughty child hundreds of times, if to duz dat e gien al rīd dī traiet akt en reit en oel?

In the chapter on the consonants the chief interest naturally lies in the gutturals. In this part of the grammar I have tried to give complete lists of the words which differ in their development from literary English, I mean such words as: flik flitch, reik to reach, brig bridge, flig fledge, duef dough, etc.

It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years, but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

The Index, which has been a laborious piece of work, contains all the words occurring in the grammar.

As a guarantee for the general accuracy of the material contained in the book, I need only state that I spoke the dialect pure and simple until I was practically grown up.

In conclusion I have the pleasant task of expressing my most cordial thanks to three friends—Professor Napier, Professor Holthausen, and the Rev. A. L. Mayhew—who have given me much valuable help in the work.

JOSEPH WRIGHT.

Oxford, January 1893.

CONTENTS

Introduction	PAGE I
CHAPTER I.	
Pronunciation	2-11
CHAPTER II.	
THE OLD ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL	
Vowels in Accented Syllables	12-25
CHAPTER III.	
THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY—THE VOWELS OF	
ACCENTED SYLLABLES	26-56
CHI A DENING THE	
CHAPTER IV.	
THE FRENCH ELEMENT—THE VOWELS	57-07
CHAPTER V.	
THE VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES	68-76
OTT I DUITED THE	
CHAPTER VI.	
THE CONSONANTS	77-106
CHAPTER VII.	
Nouns	107-110
CHAPTER VIII.	
Adjectives	111-115

CONTENTS.

			С	HAP	TER	IX.			PA	O. E.
Pronouns	•	•	•		•	•			. 116–	127
			(CHAI	PTER	Χ.				
Verbs -	•	•	٠	•	٠			٠	. 128–	165
			·C	HAP	TER	XI.				
Adverbs, I	PREPO	SITIC	NS, A	ND C	ONJUI	CTIO	NS.		. 166–	167
SPECIMENS	٠	•	٠		•				. 169-	·2 I I
Notes	•	•		•	•		•	٠	. 212-	213
CLOSSADIA	TNE	EV							215	255

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

Angl. = Anglian.

Dan. = Danish.

dial. = dialect.

Fr. = French.

gen. = genitive.

Germ. = German, Germanic.

Goth. = Gothic.

Lat. = Latin.

lit. = literally.

lit. Engl. = literary English.

Low Germ. = Low German.

ME. = Middle English.

MHG. = Middle High German.

Mid. Du. = Middle Dutch.

M. Low Germ. = Middle Low Ger-

man.

Norw. = Norwegian.

occ. = occasionally.

OE. = Old English.

O. Fr. = Old French.

O. Fris. = Old Frisian.

OHG. = Old High German.

O. Icel. = Old Icelandic.

O. Ir. = Old Irish.

O. Low Germ. = Old Low German.

O. Norm. Fr. = Old Norman French.

O.N. = Old Norse.

O. North. = Old Northumbrian.

O. Swed. = Old Swedish.

pl. = plural.

pret. = preterite.

pp. = past participle.

sing., sg. = singular.

Scot. = Scotch.

Swed. = Swedish.

W. = Windhill.

WS. = West Saxon.

> = has become.

The asterisk (*) prefixed to a word denotes a theoretical form.

WORKS REFERRED TO IN THE GRAMMAR.

Cotgr. = A French and English Dictionary, composed by Mr. Randle Cotgrave; with another in English and French, edited by J. Howell.

EEPr. = Early English Pronunciation, by A. J. Ellis.

E.E.T.S. = Early English Text Society.

Etym. Dict. = Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, by W. W. Skeat.

Florio = A Worlde of Wordes, or most copious and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, by John Florio, London, 1598.

Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, herausgegeben von H. Paul.

The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by J. A. H. Murray.

N.E.D. = New English Dictionary, edited by J. A. H. Murray and H. Bradley.

P. B. Beitr. = Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, herausgegeben von H. Paul und W. Braune.

Prompt. Parv. = Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum, dictionarius Anglo-Latinus princeps, auctore fratre Galfrido, grammatico dicto, ex ordine fratrum predicatorum, Northfolciensi, circa a. d. MCCCCXL, ad fidem codicum recensuit Albert Way, London, 1865.

Sievers, OE. Gr. = Angelsächsische Grammatik, von E. Sievers.

Stratmann = Dictionary of the Old English Language, by F. H. Stratmann (new edition, by H. Bradley).

Sweet, H.E.S. = History of English Sounds, by H. Sweet.

Sweet, NE. Gr. = New English Grammar, by H. Sweet.

Synopsis of Old English Phonology, by A. L. Mayhew.

Town. Myst. = The Towneley Mysteries (printed for the Surtees Society).

The following list of letters may be useful to those who consult the book without first reading the chapter on pronunciation:—

ə = the e in German Gabe.

 $\bar{\Theta}$ = the i in lit. Engl. bird.

j = the y , you.

n = the ng, n, sing, song, drink.

 $t\check{s} = the ch$, choose.

 $\mathfrak{p} = \text{the th}$, thin.

 δ = the th , then.

,, ,,

 $d\check{z} = the j$,, just.

GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. WINDHILL is a manufacturing village in the township of Idle and parish of Calverley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, three miles North of Bradford.

The dialect belongs to the Eastern North Midland group, which embraces the whole of South Yorkshire. Dr. Ellis (EEPr. v. p. 364) distinguishes nine varieties: The Western group containing var. 1. Huddersfield and var. 2. Halifax. The North Central group containing var. 3. Keighley, var. 4. Bradford, var. 5. Leeds, var. 6. Dewsbury. The South Central group containing var. 7. Rotherham and var. 8. Sheffield. The Eastern group containing var. 9. Doncaster and the Eastern slip.

Of these nine varieties the Windhill dialect is most closely related to numbers 3. 4. 5.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I.

PRONUNCIATION.

A. The Vowels.

§ 2. The Windhill dialect contains the following vowel sounds:—

Short vowels a, e, i, o, u, ə

Long ,, ā, ī, ū, ō

Short diphthongs ai, ei, oi, ui
eu, iu, ou
eə, iə, oə, uə

Long " āə Triphthongs aiə, iuə, ouə

Note.—To these must be added 1, m, n, n in the function of vowels. For examples see the corresponding consonants §§ 17-19.

§ 3. In the following paragraphs will be given a brief description of the Windhill vowel-system. For which purpose I have adopted the notation as given in Sweet's Primer of Phonetics. In the autumn of 1886 Dr. Sweet was kind enough to render me considerable help in the analysis of the W. vowel sounds; thus enabling me to fix

the sounds far more accurately than would otherwise have been the case, had it not been for his kind assistance. The late Dr. Ellis, to whom I dictated the Dialect Test (EEPr. v. pp. 389-90) and the dialect words in his Classified Word List (pp. 391-4), was also of some help to me. But a comparison of his appreciation of the W. vowels with that of Dr. Sweet and my own will show that we differ on several minor points.

All the diphthongs and triphthongs have the stress on the first element. In my transcription I have written ie, ue, &c., but the first element is really a medium long vowel, which stands in the same relation to the corresponding short vowel as the lit. Engl. vowel in feet does to fit or seek to sick.

§ 4. a (mid-back-wide) like the a in German Mann, but with the tongue slightly more advanced.

lat late, faðe(r) father, mak to make, as to ask, laðe(r) ladder, dlad glad, tšap chap, ratn rat, paste(r) pasture, apren apron, kwaleti quality, vari very.

ā (mid-back-wide) like the a in German Name and in lit. Engl. father, but with slightly more advanced position of the tongue as in short a. After our ā there is also a trace of a glide (ā), which however is not sufficiently developed to be conveniently represented in print.

rām room, fāl fowl, bān child, wām warm, wāk (noun) work, fādin farthing, sāvnt servant, pāðe(r) powder.

ai = a + i:

raiv to tear, mais mice, tais to entice.

 $ai\theta = ai + \theta$:

aion iron, faio(r) fire, raiot riot.

 $\bar{a}\theta = \bar{a} + \theta$:

dāə(r) dare, sāə(r) sour, tāə(r) tower.

§ 5. e (low-front-narrow) like the ä in Swed. lära and the first element of the diphthong in lit. Engl. care but short. Ellis identified it as mid-front-wide, but Sweet and myself agree in the above analysis.

elp to help, bed bed, brek to break, emen among, weš to wash, bleg blackberry, geðe(r) to gather, ðen then, šepste(r) starling, len to lend, gezlin gosling, depp depth, lek to leak, frend friend, treml to tremble, blenkit blanket, fešn fashion, lenit linnet.

ei = e + i:

feit to fight, beid bead, eit to eat, leits leech, reik to reach, lein to lean, ei high.

eu = e + u:

eu ewe, feu few, seu to sew.

 $e\theta = \theta + \theta$:

beed to bathe, dee day, breed to resemble, bleet to bleat, thee clay, leek to play, beekp bacon, kweet quart, meeste(r) master.

§ 6. i (high-front-wide) like the i in lit. Engl. bit:

lig to lie down, wik quick, alive, in to hang, sitš such, fligd fledged, dwinl to dwindle, litl little, sili silly, ivo(r) ever, rik smoke, divl devil, tšimli, chimney, šimi chemise.

i (high-front-narrow) like the ie in German Biene. It is a pure long vowel, not like the ee in South. Engl. feed, which is a diphthong (ij):

mīld mild, nīt night, fīld field, wīl (adv.) well, frīt fright, bīld to build, īmin evening, kīl to cool, lītnin lightning, sī sigh, nī knee, bīf beef.

 $i\theta = i + \theta$:

bied beard, iep earth, swie(r) to swear, friet to fret, flie(r) to laugh or sneer at, dried to dread, tlien clean, bried bread, bie(r) beer, viel veal, fles fierce.

iu = i + u:

tliu a ball of string or worsted, spiu to vomit, tiuk took, lium loom, iniu (pl.) enough, briu to brew, fruto(r) future, bliu blue, riubub rhubarb.

 $iu\theta = iu + \theta$:

siue(r) sure, piue(r) pure.

§ 7. o (low-back-wide-round) like the o in lit. Engl. not:

frozn frozen, lop flea, bodi body, wote(r) water, solt salt, moni many, jole yellow, sori sorry, tof tough, fotnit fortnight, kotn cotton, ont aunt, rost to roast.

oi = o + i:

poil to give ungrudgingly, boil to boil, toist toast.

ou = o + u. But here the first element is low-back-narrow-round like the aw in lit. Engl. law:

koud cold, doute(r) daughter, floun flown, kouk coke, grou to grow, pout thought, loup to jump, out ought, tout taught, poutš to poach, skoud to scald.

 $ou\theta = ou + \theta$:

foue(r) four.

oe = o + e, the first element of which is the same as the o in ou:

koef calf, woef insipid, book beam, boold bald, poem palm, soev salve, mook maggot, boen born, noede(r) neither, snoe snow, goem heed, care, goeki left handed, oede(r) to order, džoenes jaundice.

§ 8. u (high-back-wide-round) like the u in lit. Engl. put:

fun (pp.) found, flute(r) to flutter, tul to, fuml to fumble, ut hot, muðe(r) mother, uðe(r) udder, butše(r) butcher, buzed butterfly, nuvl novel.

ū (high-back-narrow-round) like the u in Germ. gut. In

the W. dialect it is a pure long vowel and not a diphthong (uw) like the oo in Southern Engl. food:

šūl shovel, obūn above, būkp bulk, size.

ui=u+i. The first element of which is not the u in put. Dr. Ellis identified the first element as mid-back-narrow-round like the o in Germ. Bote, but this is certainly not the sound. At first Dr. Sweet gave the same analysis as Dr. Ellis, but he was afterwards inclined to think that it might be mid-back-narrow-round with outer rounding like the o in Swedish sol. But this too is hardly our sound. The nearest analysis seems to me to be the tongue position of high-back-narrow-round, like the u in Germ. gut, ou in French sou, with the lip position of mid-back-narrow-round:

bluid blood, uin to harass, treat badly, gruin snout of a pig.

ue=u+e. The first element is the same as the u in ui: nuez nose, smue(r) to smother, due(r) door, juek yolk, kuem comb, duef dough, dlue(r) to stare, kued cord, tluek cloak, pue(r) poor.

§ 9. e (mid-mixed-narrow) like the e in German Gabe, but with the tongue slightly more retracted. It is not identical with the -er in lit. Engl. better, which is mid-mixed-wide. It occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables:

jestede yesterday, sterek heifer, fere furrow, weri to worry, bed but, sperit spirit, vale value.

ō (low-mixed-narrow) like the i in lit. Engl. bird, but with the tongue rather more advanced. It only occurs in stressed syllables:

gēs grass, bēk birch, wēd word, mēðe(r) murder, wēk to work, kēsmes Christmas, gēt great, kēnz currants.

B. The Consonants.

- § 10. The W. dialect contains the following consonants: b, d, f, g, j, k, l, m, n, p, p, r, s, š, t, þ, ð, v, w, z, ž.
- § 11. b (lip-stop-voice) like lit. English b. It occurs initially, medially, and finally:

bān child, beed to bathe, bun (pp.) bound, brig bridge, bleb blister, breed to resemble, act like another person, brīt bright. kubed cupboard, riubub rhubarb, uzbn husband. dub a small pool of water, nub to nudge.

§ 12. d (gum-stop-voice) like lit. English d. It occurs in all positions:

duef dough, dī to die, diu to do, dwinl to dwindle, džais joist, dlas glass. bodm bottom, fādin farthing, wide widow. nobed lit. not but, only, grund ground, od to hold, snod smooth, boged ghost, apparition.

§ 13. f (lip-teeth-open-breath) like lit. Engl. f. It occurs in all positions:

feu few, foil foal, feit to fight, flig fledge, fan (pret.) found. duefi cowardly, woefi insipid, fift fifth, druft drought. kaf chaff, duef dough, koef calf, laif life.

§ 14. g (back-stop-voice) like lit. Engl. g. It occurs in all positions:

geen near, direct, galek lefthand, gal the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye, guid good, goemles foolish, silly. blegs blackberries, boged ghost, pigin small water can, flegstn flagstone. ig mood, temper, ug to carry, lig to lie down, neeg to gnaw.

§ 15. j (front-open-voice) like lit. English y in you. It only occurs initially:

jest yeast, jestede yesterday, jole yellow, jun young. I have sometimes heard the sound medially in teelje(r), teele(r) tailor.

 \S 16. k (back-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. k. It occurs in all positions:

kā cow, kest to cast, kei key, koud cold, koul to rake, kīl to cool. skrat to scratch, bake tobacco, beeks bacon, oks ox. flik flitch of bacon, reik to reach, wik quick, alive, bēk birch.

§ 17. 1 (gum-side-voice) like ordinary English 1. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel in unaccented syllables only:

leek to play, loin lane, len to lend, leeð barn, luensem lonely, leelek lilac, loup to jump. olin holly, bild to build, twilt quilt. koil coal, steil to steal, wil (adv.) well.

Examples of vocalic 1 are: kitl to tickle, adl to earn, satl to settle, spinl spindle, rasl to wrestle.

§ 18. m (lip-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. m. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

meitš to measure, mun must, muin moon, māt to moult. treml to tremble, īmin evening, sīmin-dlas mirror. steim to bespeak, gam game, freem to make a beginning, goem heed, care.

Examples of vocalic m are: bodm bottom, fadm fathom, fipms fivepence, wiepm weapon, kindm (OE. cynedōm) kingdom.

- § 19. n (gum-nasal-voice) like lit. Engl. n. It occurs as a consonant in all positions, but as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:
 - nie(r) kidney, nīt night, nep-neel corn on the foot, nub

to nudge, noover) neither. snoo snow, inif enough, moni many, sind to rinse, wash out, spinl spindle. gon to grin, bin within, fādin farthing, runin running.

Examples of vocalic n are: frozn frozen, brusn (pp.) burst, ratn rat, seldn seldom, getn (pp.) got, tšozn chosen, pāzn thousand.

§ 20. p (back-nasal-voice) like ng, n in lit. Engl. sing, song, drink, drunk. As a consonant it only occurs in accented, and as a vowel only in unaccented syllables:

blenk blank, brin to bring, tenz tongs fine(r) finger, in to hang, blenkit blanket, pin thing.

Examples of vocalic p are: brokp broken, beegn bargain, drukp drunk, drunken, wokp to waken.

§ 21. p (lip-stop-breath) like lit. Engl. p. It occurs initially, medially, and finally:

poem palm, poez to kick, penep pennyworth. speen to wean, spitek spigot, api happy, apl apple, stapl staple. lop flea, elp to help, sweep the handle of a machine, saip to ooze or drain out slowly.

§ 22. r (gum-open-voice). Before a following vowel r is a gently trilled sound. Final r is also slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. fear, nor does it disappear altogether as in lit. Engl. far. In order to distinguish strong and weak r the latter is uniformly written (r) in this grammar:

raiv to tear, root to bray, room to roam, reik to reach, ram room, brek to break, rep wrong. sare to serve, mare to match, for first turn, bare barrow. ger up to get up.

swie(r) to swear, pie(r) pear, smue(r) to smother, wee(r) to spend money.

§ 23. s (blade-open-breath) like the s in lit. Engl. sit. It occurs in all positions:

sal shall, sud should, sīt sight, seem lard, sāk to suck, snod smooth, steim to bespeak, strie straw, speik to speak, siuge(r) sugar, swiel to gutter (of a candle). koese causeway, brusn (pp.) burst, rāst rust, omest almost, prosl thrush. as ash, ashes, guis goose, ās house, oks ox, oes horse, ius use.

§ 24. š (blade-point-open-breath) like lit. Engl. sh in she. It occurs far more frequently initially and finally than medially:

šuin shoes, šimi chemise, šap shape, šak to shake, šuďe(r) to shudder. tšons chance, tšeeme(r) chamber, tšiuz to choose, fešn fashion. weš to wash, rediš radish, fotš to fetch, bleitš to bleach, mitš much.

§ 25. t (gum-stop-breath) like lit. English t. It occurs in all positions:

tak to take, temz hop-sieve, toist toast, teu to work zealously, tluep cloth. fotn (pp.) fought, flute(r) future, wāte weekday. gēt great, fouet fourth, ut hot, lat lath.

§ 26. p (teeth-open-breath) like the th in lit. Engl. thin. It occurs initially and finally:

pak thatch, pāzn thousand, pout thought, priep to contradict, dispute. brop broth, māp mouth, diep death, swāp the skin of bacon.

§ 27. \eth (teeth-open-voice) like the th in lit. English then. It occurs initially only in words which had formerly the weak stress; medially between vowels; and finally after vowels:

ðai, ði thy, ðis this, ðen then. šuðə(r) to shudder, pāðə(r) powder feðə(r) feather, soðə(r) solder. buið booth, leað barn, smuið smooth.

§ 28. v (lip-teeth-open-voice) like the v in lit. Engl. vine. Initially it only occurs in words of French origin:

vari very, viəl veal, vois voice. avə-meil oatmeal, navi canal. neiv fist, raiv to tear, praiv to thrive.

§ 29. w (lip-back-open-voice) like lit. Engl. w in wet. It only occurs initially and medially:

wāk (noun) work, wer thong, wen when, wīl wheel, wik quick, alive, wām warm. ewee away, dwinl to dwindle, twais twice, kweet quart, kwaleti quality, swiet to sweat, swetš a small sample of cloth.

§ 30. z (blade-open-voice) like the z in lit. Engl. zeal, freeze. Initially it only occurs in ziəl zeal. It is common medially and finally:

uzbn husband, meze(r) measure, rīzd rancid (of bacon), frozn frozen, fuzi soft, spongy, buzed butterfly, gizn to choke. temz hop-sieve, ez as, sidez scissors, tšiuz to choose.

§ 31. ž (blade-point-open-voice) like the s in lit. Engl. measure. It only occurs after d and n:

džoul to knock, strike, džais joist, džudž judge, sādžn sergeant, eedž age, tšeedž charge, inž hinge, sinž to singe; but in words of French origin we have indžn engine, moendž mange.

CHAPTER II.

THE OLD ENGLISH EQUIVALENTS OF THE WINDHILL VOWELS IN ACCENTED SYLLABLES.

1. Short Vowels.

a.

§ 32. Windhill a corresponds to:

- 1. OE. æ(a) in originally closed syllables, § 57: as ashes, fan (pret.) found, gam game, lat late, sal shall, sam up, (OE. samnian) to pick up, þak thatch.
- 2. Rarely OE. a(x) in open syllables, § 71: fate(x) father, mak to make, tak to take.
 - 3. Shortening of OE. ā, § 125: as to ask, spatl spittle.
 - 4. Shortening of OE. æ, §§ 135, 144: blast blast. bad bad, laðə(r) ladder.
 - 5. Rarely shortening of OE. ēa, § 186: tšap chap.
- 6. Lit. Engl. æ in French words, § 194; galek (O. Fr. gale) left hand, ratn rat, vale value.
- 7. Lit. Engl. ā in French words, § 195: basted bastard, paste(r) pasture.
- 8. Rarely lit. Engl. ei in French words, § 196: apren apron.

- 9. Lit. Engl. o (through the influence of the preceding w) in French words, § 202: kwaleti quality, warend to warrant.
- 10. Lit. Engl. e before r in French words, § 208: tariə(r) terrier, vari very.

e.

§ 33. Windhill e corresponds to:

I. Germanic e, and the i-umlaut of a in originally closed syllables; and also when e was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an 1, m, n, r, §§ 72-3: delf delf, elp to help, leve(r) leather, melt to melt, weft weft.

bed bed, ketl kettle, lenp (by assimilation) length, mens neatness, set to set.

- 2. Rarely OE. e in open syllables, § 88: brek to break, get to get.
- 3. Germ. a before a following g, p, š, §§ 59, 197: beg bag, bleg blackberry, emen among, rep wrong, sepk sank. eš ashtree, weš to wash.
- 4. Rarely OE. a(æ) in other cases, § 60: elte(r) halter, geðe(r) to gather, wesp wasp.
 - 5. Rarely OE. o, § 108: Sen then, wen when.
- 6. Shortening of Germanic & (W.S. &, O. North. e), § 134: ble8e(r) bladder, šepste(r) starling, slept slept.
- 7. Shortening of OE. æ (i-umlaut of ā), § 143: fleš flesh, len to lend, les less.
- 8. Shortening of OE. ē, ē (i-umlaut of ō), § 148: bled bled, gezlin gosling, met met.
- 9. Shortening of Anglian ēo (=WS. ie) § 192: depp depth, ten ten.
- 10. Shortening of OE. ēa, § 186: lek leak, red (adj.) red.

- 11. Shortening of OE. ēo, § 192: brest breast, frend friend.
- 12. Lit. Engl. e in French words, § 206: demek potato disease, mel to meddle, treml to tremble.
- 13. Lit. Engl. æ before g, p, š in French words, § 197: dregp dragon, blenkit blanket, fešn fashion.
- 14. Rarely lit. Engl. i in French words, § 212: lenit linnet, rebit rivet.

i.

§ 34. Windhill i corresponds to:

- 1. OE. i, § 89: bin (OE. binnan) within, bitn bitten, find to find, lig to lie down, wik quick, alive.
- 2. OE. e (i-umlaut of a) before an original p (now p or nž), § 76: ip (ME. hengen) to hang, sinž to singe, þipk to think.
- 3. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 77: kil to kill, sitš such, wile willow.
- 4. OE. y (i-umlaut of u), § 117: brig bridge, flig (ME. fligge) fledge, ig (OE. hyge) mood, temper.
- 5. Shortening of OE. i, § 160: dwinl to dwindle, fift fifth.
- 6. Shortening of OE. $\bar{\mathbf{y}}$ (i-umlaut of $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$), § 177: lit1 little, wiš to wish.
- 7. Rarely shortening of Germanic $\bar{\mathbf{z}}$, § 136: ridl riddle, sili silly.
- 8. Rarely shortening of OE. æ (i-umlaut of ā), § 145: ivo(r) ever, ivri every.
- 9. Rarely shortening of OE. ē, older īe, § 150, note: rik to smoke (of a chimney).
- 10. Rarely shortening of OE. ēo, § 192: divl devil, sik sick.

- 11. Lit. Engl. i in French words, § 211: konsiðə(r) to consider, livə(r) to deliver, tšimli chimney.
- 12. Lit. Engl. e before nasals in French words, § 209: lints lentils, šimi chemise.

0.

§ 35. Windhill o corresponds to:

- 1. West Germanic o in originally closed syllables; and also when o was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an 1, m, n, r, § 100: bodm bottom, forn (pp.) fought, lop flea, frozn frozen, olin (ME. holen) hollytree, snod smooth, tšozn chosen, prosl thrush.
- 2. Rarely OE. o in open syllables, § 110: bodi body, popi poppy.
- 3. OE. a preceded by w and not followed by g, p, š, or r + consonant, § 58: swole swallow, swop to exchange, wo(r) (accented form) was, wote(r) water.
- 4. OE. ea(a) before is, it, § 58: fols false, molt malt, solt salt.
- 5. Rarely OE. a in other cases, § 58: omest almost, oles always, moni many.
- 6. Rarely OE. eo(e), § 80: jole (OE. geolu) yellow, fotš to fetch.
 - 7. Shortening from OE. ā, § 125: sori sorry.
 - 8. Shortening of OE. ō, § 169: foder, tof tough.
- 9. Rarely shortening from OE. ēo, § 192: foti forty, fotnit fortnight.
- 10. Lit. Engl. o in French words, § 214: boni nice, pretty, džosl to jostle, kotn cotton, poridž porridge.
- 11. Lit. Engl. ā before n + consonant, in French words, § 200: dons dance, ont aunt, tšons chance.
- 12. Rarely lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 217: gol goal, rost to roast.

u.

§ 36. Windhill u corresponds to:

- 1. OE. u, § 111: drukp drunk, fun (pp.) found. grund ground, kudl to embrace, kum to come, punə(r) thunder, ug to carry, undəd hundred.
 - 2. Rarely OE. o, § 107: flute(r) to flutter, uvm oven.
- 3. Rarely OE. i, § 97: kud (OE. cwidu) cud, tul (ME. til) to.
 - 4. Rarely OE. y, § 121: bluš to blush, bunl bundle.
 - 5. Shortening from OE. ā, § 126: ut hot, wun one.
- 6. Shortening of OE. $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$, § 169 b; munp month, muð $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ (\mathbf{r}) mother, sluf (OE. sl $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ g) slough.
- 7. Shortening of OE. $\bar{\mathbf{u}}$, § 174: fus fuss, plum plum, $\mathbf{u} \delta \mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ udder, \mathbf{uzbn} husband.
- 8. Lit. Engl. u in French words, § 227: butšə(r) butcher, puš to push, put to put.
- 9. Lit. Engl. 8 in French words, § 226: buzed butterfly, mutn mutton, uml humble.
- 10. Rarely lit. Engl. o in French words, § 215: nuvl novel.

Ð.

§ 37. Windhill o corresponds to:

- 1. Rarely OE. e, § 81: bəri berry, jəstədə yesterday.
- 2. Rarely OE. i, § 91: storok (OE. stirc, styric) heifer.
- 3. OE. u before a following r, § 113: bere borough, fere furrow.
- 4. OE. y before a following r, § 120, (2): beri to bury, weri to worry.
- 5. Lit. Engl. i before a following r in French words, § 213: sperit spirit.

2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 38. Windhill ā corresponds to:

- I. OE. ū, § 171: ās house, dāst dust, kā cow, rām room, rāst rust, slām slumber, pāzn thousand.
 - 2. OE. medial -ug-, § 114: fāl fowl, kāl cowl.
- 3. Rarely OE. u before n + consonant, § 115: ānd hound, drānd to drown.
- 4. OE. a, ea before r+consonant, § 61: ād hard, bān child, wām warm.
- 5. OE. e, eo before r + consonant, § 74: āt heart, dwāf dwarf, wāk (noun) work.
- 6. OE. ēo before r + consonant, § 189: dālin darling, fādin farthing.
- 7. O. Fr. er before a following consonant, § 207: pāsn parson, sāvnt servant.
- 8. Lit. Engl. au in French words, § 235: dat doubt, gan gown, pāðə(r) powder.

î.

§ 39. Windhill i corresponds to:

- I. OE. i before ld, § 92: mīld mild, wīld wild.
- 2. OE. i before ht, § 93: brīt bright, nīt night, sīt sight.
- 3. OE. medial -ig-, § 94: stīl (OE. stigel) stile, tīl tile.
- 4. OE. e before ld, § 78: fild field, wild to wield.
- 5. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 79: bīzm besom, wīl (adv.) well.
 - 6. OE. y before ht, § 118: flit flight, frit fright.
 - 7. OE. y before ld, § 119: bild to build.
- 8. Germanic & (WS. &, O. North. o), § 130: imin evening, nidl needle, prid thread.

- 9. OE. ē, § 155: ī he, wī we.
- 10. OE. ē, œ (i-umlaut of ō), § 147: blīd to bleed, gīs geese, kīl to cool.
- 11. Anglian $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$, $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ o (=WS. $\bar{\mathbf{i}}$ e), § 150: beliv to believe, lītnin lightning, $\bar{\mathbf{s}}$ in seen.
 - 12. Rarely OE. ī, § 158: sī to sigh.
 - 13. OE. ēo, § 187; dīp deep, nī knee, trī tree, wīl wheel.
- 14. Lit. Engl. ij in French words, § 232: bīf beef, pīs piece.

ū.

§ 40. Windhill ū corresponds to:

- 1. Rarely OE. o, § 106: šūl shovel, stūp (ME. stolpe) a post.
- 2. Rarely OE. u, § 112: būkþ (ME. bulke) bulk, size, e-būn (OE. on-bufan) above, wūl wool.

ē.

- § 41. Windhill 5 corresponds to:
- 1. OE. ær before a following consonant, § 69: gēs (OE. gærs) grass.
- 2. OE. ir before a following consonant, § 90: bēk birch, pēd third.
- 3. Rarely OE. or before a following consonant, § 104, (3): wēd word, wēld world.
- 4. OE. ur before a following consonant, § 113, (1): dēst durst, snēt (ME. snurtin) to snort, snore.
- 5. OE. yr before a following consonant, § 120, (1): bādn burden, bāp birth, māðə(r) murder, wāk to work.
- 6. OE. ī (?) with metathesis of r, § 161: kēsmes Christmas, kēsn to christen.
 - 7. OE. ēa with metathesis of r, § 185: gēt great.

8. Lit. Engl. 5 in French words, § 228: f5niš to furnish, kān currant.

3. The Diphthongs.

ai.

§ 42. Windhill ai corresponds to:

- 1. OE. i, § 156: ais ice, bait to bite, raiv to tear, sail (ME. sīlen) to strain, swaim to climb a tree, waif wife.
- 2. OE. \bar{y} (i-umlaut of \bar{u}), § 175: aid hide, skin, mais mice.
 - 3. Rarely OE. i, § 95: ai (accented form) I.
- 4. Lit. Engl. ai in French words, § 229: paint pint, sailm asylum, tais to entice.

ei.

§ 43. Windhill ei corresponds to:

- 1. OE. e (Germanic e, and the i-umlaut of a) in originally open syllables, § 87: beid bead, eit to eat, meit meat, neiv fist, steil to steal.
 - 2. OE. e before ht, § 86: feit to fight, reit right.
- 3. Rarely OE. æ (ea), § 67: eit (O. North. æhto, æhta) eight.
- 4. WS. æ, O. North. e before a following k, § 132: leitš leech, speitš speech.
- 5. OE. æ (i-umlaut of a) before a following k, § 138: bleitš to bleach, reik to reach.
- 6. Rarely OE. \(\bar{\pi}\) in other cases, \(\bar{\pi}\) 139: lein to lean, spreid to spread, kei key.
 - 7. Rarely OE. ēa, § 182: ei high, nei nigh, near.

oi.

- § 44. Windhill oi corresponds to:
- 1. OE. o in originally open syllables, § 109: foil foal, koil coal, oil hole, boil to give ungrudgingly, broit throat.
- 2. Lit. Engl. oi in French words, § 216: boil to boil, oil oil.
- 3. Lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 219: doit to dote, toist to toast.

ui.

- § 45. Windhill ui corresponds to:
- 1. OE. \bar{o} , § 163: bluid blood, duin done, uin (ME. honen) to treat badly, harass, tuip tooth.
- 2. Lit. Engl. uw in French words, § 221: buit boot, fuil fool, gruin a pig's snout.

eu.

- § 46. Windhill eu corresponds to:
- 1. OE. e, eo, + w, \S 85: eu ewe, streu to strew.
- 2. OE. ēaw, § 180: deu dew, feu few, teu (OE. tēawian) to work zealously.
 - 3. Rarely OE. ēow, § 190: seu to sew, tšeu to chew.

iu.

- § 47. Windhill in corresponds to:
- 1. OE. iw, § 96: tliu (OE. cliwe) a ball of string or worsted.
 - 2. Rarely OE. u, § 116: priu through.
 - 3. OE. iw, § 159: spiu to vomit, tiuzde Tuesday.
- 4. OE. ō before a following k, m, and when final, § 164: iuk hook, tiuk took.

gium gum, lium loom.

diu to do, iniu (pl.) enough.

- 5. OE. ēow, § 190: bliu blew, briu to brew, niu knew.
- 6. Lit. Engl. juw in French words, § 237: flute(r) future, ius use, iuz to use, viu view.
- 7. Lit. Engl. uw in French words, § 239: bliu blue, friut fruit, riubub rhubarb, siu to sue.

ou.

§ 48. Windhill ou corresponds to:

- 1. OE. al before a following d, § 64: koud cold, oud old.
- 2. OE. o before ht, § 101: bout bought, doute(r) daughter.
- 3. OE. o, older ō, before ht, § 167: brout brought, pout thought.
 - 4. ME. ow (OE. -og-), § 102: floun flown.
- 5. OE. ol before a following consonant, § 103: bouste(r) bolster, kouk coke, out holt.
 - 6. OE. ōw, § 166: flow to flow, grow to grow.
 - 7. O. Norse au, § 184: loup to leap, jump.
 - 8. Rarely OE. aw, § 123: out aught, soul soul.
 - 9. Rarely OE. æ before a following ht, § 140: tout taught.
- 10. Lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 220: boul bowl, poutš to poach.
 - 11. al before d in French words, § 199: skoud to scald.

ea.

§ 49. Windhill ee corresponds to:

1. OE. a in originally open syllables, § 70: beed to bathe, eeg (OE. haga) the berry of the hawthorn, neeg (OE. gnagan) to gnaw, reeðe(r) rather, speen (OE. spanan) to wean, teem tame.

- 2. ME. ai, ei from OE. æg, \S 65: dee day, eel hail, sneel snail.
- 3. ME. ei from OE. eg, O. Norse ei, § 84: breed (OE. bregdan) to resemble, reen rain, been (O. Icel. beinn) near, direct.
- 4. Rarely WS. æ, O. North. ē, § 133: bleet to bleat, ee(r) hair.
- 5. Rarely OE. æ (i-umlaut of ā), § 141: leədi lady, tlee clay.
 - 6. O. Norse ei, § 127: leek to play, week weak.
- 7. Lit. Engl. ei in French words, § 204: beekp bacon, eenšn ancient, plees place.
- 8. O. Fr. ar before a following consonant, § 203: geed guard, kweet quart, tšeedž to charge.
- 9. Lit. Engl. ā in French words, § 195: meeste(r) master, pleeste(r) plaster.

iə.

§ 50. Windhill ie corresponds to:

- 1. Rarely OE. ea, æ, a, § 68: bied beard, ierin herring.
- 2. OE. e before r not followed by another consonant, § 75: bie(r) to bear, swie(r) to swear.
- 3. Rarely OE. er before a following consonant, § 74; iop earth, lion to learn.
- 4. Rarely OE. e in other cases, § 82: friet to fret, riep to reap.
- 5. Rarely OE. i, § 98: flie(r) (Norw. flira) to laugh or sneer at.
- 6. WS. æ, O. North. ē, § 131: dried to dread, miel meal, repast, wie(r) where.
- 7. OE. $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ (i-umlaut of $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$), § 137: diəl deal, iəl to heal, siə sea, tliən clean.

- 8. OE. ēa, § 179: bried bread, strie straw, priep (OE. prēapian) to contradict.
- 9. OE. ēo before a following r, § 188: bio(r) beer, dio(r) dear.
- 10. Lit. Engl. ij in French words, § 231: biək beak, fiətə(r) feature, viəl veal.
- 11. Lit. Engl. ia in French words, § 233: fias fierce, tlio(r) clear.

00.

- § 51. Windhill oo corresponds to:
- I. OE. eal, al in the combinations If, OE. Ih, Ik, Il, Im, Iv, § 62: koof calf, woof (OE. walh) sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste, book balk, beam, boold (ME. balled) bald, poom palm, soov salve.
- 2. ME. aw (of various origins), § 63: mook (ME. mauk) maggot, soo he saw, krool to crawl.
- 3. OE. or before a following consonant, § 104: boen born, oes horse, poen thorn.
 - 4. OE. āw, § 123: bloe to blow, noe to know, snoe snow.
 - 5. O. Norse au, § 184: goom heed, care, root to bray.
- 6. O. Fr. al before k, m, l, § 198: goəki lefthanded, boəm balm, boəl ball.
- 7. Lit. Engl. long open o in French words, § 225: doeb to daub, smeer, džoenes jaundice, poez to kick, foetn fortune, oeðe(r) to order.

uə.

- § 52. Windhill ue corresponds to:
- 1. Rarely O.E. o, § 105: uop hope, nuoz nose, fluot to float.
- 2. Rarely OE. o before a following r or r+consonant, § 104 (2): smuə(r) to smother, buəd board, uəd hoard.

- 3. Rarely OE. u before a following \mathbf{r} or $\mathbf{r} + \mathbf{consonant}$, § 113, (3): muon to mourn.
 - 4. OE. eol, § 83: juek yolk.
 - 5. OE. a before mb, § 66: kuəm comb, wuəm womb.
- 6. OE. ā, § 122: buen bone, duef dough, nuen none, suep soap, tluep cloth, uem home, ues, uest (OE. hās) hoarse.
- 7. OE. ō before a following r, § 165: dluø(r) (ME. glōren) to stare, muə(r) moor.
- 8. Lit. Engl. long open o in French words, § 223: kued cord, fues force.
- 9. Lit. Engl. ou in French words, § 218: nuetis notice, tluek cloak.
- 10. Lit. Engl. up before a following r in French words, § 222: pup(r) poor.

āə.

- § 53. Windhill āe corresponds to:
- 1. OE. a, ea before a following r, § 61: dāo(r) dare, ao(r) (accented form) are.
- 2. OE. e, eo before a following \mathbf{r} , § 74: $\mathbf{w}\mathbf{\bar{a}e}(\mathbf{r})$ worse, $\mathbf{s}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{\bar{a}e}(\mathbf{r})$ star.
- 3. OE. ū before a following r, § 172: kāə(r) dān to bend down, sā•(r) sour.
- 4. Lit. Engl. aue before a following r in French words, § 236: āe(r) hour, tāe(r) tower.

4. The Triphthongs.

aiə.

- § 54. Windhill aie corresponds to:
- 1. OE. ī before a following r, § 157: aien iron, spaie(r) spire.
- 2. OE. \bar{y} (i-umlaut of \bar{u}) before a following r, § 176: faie(r) fire, aie(r) to hire.

3. Lit. Engl. aie in French words, § 230: raiet riot, umpaio(r) umpire.

iuə.

§ 55. Windhill iue corresponds to:

- 1. Lit. Engl. ue before a following r in French words, § 240: siuə(r) sure.
- 2. Lit. Engl. jue before a following r in French words, § 238: kiuə(r) cure, piuə(r) pure.

ouə.

§ 56. Windhill oue corresponds to: Rarely OE. ēow before a following r, § 190: foue(r) four.

CHAPTER III.

THE VOWELS TREATED HISTORICALLY.

The Vowels of Accented Syllables.

In treating the vowels in accented syllables it is necessary to distinguish between vowels which were originally in closed syllables, e.g. OE. dæg day, helpan to help; and those which were originally in open syllables, e.g. OE. dagas days, etan to eat. In the former case OE. æ (a), o, e, usually appear in the W. dialect as a, o, e, whereas in the latter case they have generally become ee, oi, ei. When through inflexional endings the vowels æ (a), o, e were in OE. now in a closed syllable, now in an open one, the W. dial. has mostly generalised the vowel of the open syllable.

1. The Short Vowels.

a.

§ 57. West Germanic \mathbf{a} (= West Saxon $\mathbf{æ}$ (a), and \mathbf{o} before nasals) in originally closed syllables usually appears as \mathbf{a} in the W. dialect.

Examples are: adl (ME. adlen, O. Icel. öðla) to earn, afte(r) after, akoen acorn, aks axe, am (Sievers, OE. Gr.

§ 427) am, am ham, amo(r) hammer, and hand, and handle, anse(r) answer, antm anthem, anvil anvil, ap (ME. happen) to wrap with clothes, apl apple, are arrow, as ashes, asmidin ash-pit, at hat, ave(r)-meil (cp. ME. havere oats) oatmeal, pret. bad (§ 373) invited, bak back, pret. ban bound, band string, cord, bare barrow, bas door mat, hassock, bap bath, be-gan began, blak black, brak broke, brakp (OE. bracce, gen. braccan) a kind of fern, bran (OE. brand) niu quite new, bras brass, pret. brast burst, brat (O. Ir., OE. bratt) pinafore, braznt brazen, impudent, daft foolish, silly, cowardly, dam (O.Icel. damr) large pond, dlad glad, dlas glass, dlazn to glaze, dlazne(r) glazier, draft draught, draft, fadm (ME. fadme) fathom, fale fallow, pret. fan found, fan fan, fasn to fasten, conclude a bargain by paying earnest money, flaks flax, flask flask, flat flat, gab (cp. O. Icel. gabba) impudence, gad (cp. OE. ge-gada companion) to gossip, gales gallows, gam (OE. gamnian) game, to gamble, gane(r) gander, pret. gat got, pret. ga(v) gave, jare yarrow, kaf chaff, kal to gossip, kan a can, kan (unaccented form kn more frequently with assimilation kn) can, kani knowing, intelligent, skilful, nimble, kanl candle, kap a cap, kasl castle, kat cat, krab crab, krabd (ME. crabed) angry, krabi ill-tempered, kraft craft, krak to crack, kram to cram, press close together, kramp cramp, lad (ME. ladde) lad, laf (with a from the pp.) to laugh, lafte(r) laughter, lam lamb, land land, lap lap, lappet, lap (ME. lappen) to wrap up, las (ME. lasse) lass, last last, latest, lat late, lat (OE. lætt) lath, late(r) latter, later, man man, mare marrow, nap nap, nare narrow, nat gnat, pak (ME. pakke) a pack, bundle, pan pan, pap path, pratli gently, softly, rafto(r) rafter, ram ram, rami (cp. OE. hramsa wild garlic) having a strong taste or smell, raml to ramble, ran ran, sad sad, sakles (OE. saclēas innocent) simple, silly, sam up (OE. samnian)

to pick up, gather together, sal (emphatic form, see § 391) shall, sale sallow, sand sand, sap sap, pret. sat sat, satl (OE. sahtlian to make peace, reconcile) to settle, skaftin shafting, skab scab, skraml scramble, skrat (ME. scrattin) to scratch, slafte(r) to slaughter, slak slack, slave(r) slaver, spak (§ 372) spake, spoke, span to span, pret. span span, spare sparrow, staf staff, pret. stak stuck, stamp to stamp, stand to stand, šade shadow, šaft shaft, šale shallow, šap shape, tale tallow, tan to tan, tap tap, tate(r) tatter, tlam (see N.E.D. sub clem) to famish, tlap clap, tlate(r) to clatter, trap trap, tšavl to nibble at, gnaw, chew, þak thatch, ðat (see § 354) that, pret. þrast (§ 367, 4) thrust.

§ 58. a preceded by w and not followed by r + consonant (§ 61), g, p, š (§ 59), has become o. It has also become o when followed by 1s, 1t:

swole swallow, swom swam, swon swan, swop to exchange, barter, woke to waken, woks wax, wonde(r) to wander, wont want, wo(r) (emphatic from § 396) was, wot what, wote(r) water, wots watch.

fols false, molt malt, olt halt, solt salt.

a has also become o in omest almost, oles always, moni many.

\S 59. a, followed by g, p, š, has become e:

ben (cp. O.Icel. banga to hammer) to throw violently, benk bank, pret. bren brought, pret. den (§ 367) reviled, reproached, drenk drank, pret. en (§ 367) hung, en to hang, enk hank, enkl ancle, enke(r) anchor, emen among, pret. flen (§ 367) threw, gen gang, gen-wee thoroughfare, passage, kenke(r) (ME. cancren) to become rusty, krenk crank, len to long for, len-setl a long bench with a high back, len (this form is gradually going out of use. The younger

people say lon) long, nen to gnaw as a pain, nen-neel (see N.E.D. sub agnail) corn on the foot, prenk prank, trick, pret. ren (§ 367) rang, ren wrong, renk rank, renl (ME. wranglen) to pull the hair of the head, pret. sen sang, sen (this form is now seldom heard among the younger people. Its place is gradually being supplanted by son) song, senk sank, pret. slen slung, pret. slenk slunk, spenk to beat, hit, spren sprang, pret. stenk slunk, pret. sten slung, stren (archaic, stron is now generally used) strong, pret. swen swung, swenki small beer, šenk shank, pret. šrenk shrunk, ten (cp. ME. tange, O.Icel. tangi sting, dagger) a sting, to sting, tenz tongs, pret. tlen clung, tlenk to beat, flog, pren busy, penk to thank, wen thong. mune(r) monger is a loan-word.

beg bag, bleg blackberry, breg to brag, deg (cp. Swed. dagga to bedew) to sprinkle with water, dreg to drag, fleg flag, geg (ME. gaggin) to gag, reg rag, seg (ME. saggin to sink down) to distend, stege(r) to stagger, seg shag, tleg (Lowland Scot. clag) to stick to, as thick mud to the boots, tlegi sticky, dirty (of roads), stopped up with dirt, weg to wag, wego wagon.

eš ash-tree, leš (ME. laschin) to comb, meš (cp. § 125) mash, peš (ME. paschen) to dash, strike hard, pleš (Swed. plaska) to splash, reš rash, smeš smash, weš to wash.

§ 60. In the following words we have e which in many of the examples is no doubt the i-umlaut of a: besk to bask, elte(r) (Prompt. Parv. heltir, Town. Myst. heltere, Stratmann) halter, esked (cp. ME. aske lizard) newt, eft, espin aspin, etš (ME. hacchen) to hatch, fest fast, geðə(r), to gather, tə-geðə(r) together, kest (ME. kesten) to cast, kredl cradle, swetš (OE. swæcc taste) a small sample of cloth, cotton, etc., weðə(r) whether, wesp wasp, ev have, ez hast, has, ed had.

§ 61. a + medial r has become ā before consonants: ād hard, ādn to harden, ām harm, ām arm, āp harp, āt thou art, āvis(t) harvest, bāk bark, bāli barley, bān child, dān to darn, fān fern, jād (OE. geard) yard, jān yarn, kāt cart, māk mark, pāk park, spāk spark, stāk (always used in combination with some other word, as stāk mad very angry, stāk neekt quite naked, cp. OE. stearc strong, severe), stākp (OE. stearcian) to grow stiff, stiffen, swām swarm, swāp (OE. sweard) the skin of bacon, swāpi swarthy, šāp sharp, tādz towards, wād ward, wāf wharf, wāk (OE. wærc) pain, as verb to ache, wām warm, wān to warn, wāp warp, wāt wart.

But it has become $\bar{a} \ni b$ before medial and final r in: $\bar{a} \ni (r)$ are, $d\bar{a} \ni (r)$ dare.

§ 62. eal, al has become oo in the combinations 1f, OE. lh, lk, ll, (l), lm, lv:

lf: koəf calf, koəf calf (of the leg), oəf half, oəpni halfpenny, oəpəb halfpennyworth.

Ih: woof, woofi (OE. walh sickly taste) sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste.

lk: book (OE. balca) balk, beam, stook stalk, stem, took to talk, wook to walk, tšook chalk.

11, (1): boold (ME. balled) bald, fool to fall, fool a veil, gool gall, kool (cp. kal § 57) to call, ool all, ool hall, smool small, stool stall, wool wall.

lm: poem palm. lv: soev salve.

§ 63. ME. aw (of various origins) has become oo:
doen dawn, droe to draw, kroel crawl, loe law, moek
(ME. mauk Stratmann) maggot, ook hawk, ool awl, pret.
soe saw, tloe claw.

§ 64. al has become ou before a following d: boud bold, foud fold, foud to fold, koud cold, oud old.

The regularly developed form oud to hold is now only used in the phrase oud on stop! The usual form od to hold, is a new formation from the past participle odn, where the stem vowel has been regularly shortened before the following n.

§ 65. ME. ai, ei from OE. æg has become ee:

breen brain, dee day, deezi daisy, eel (OE. hægl) hail, feen (OE. fægen) glad, fain, gladly, fee(r) fair, mee (shortened in mebi perhaps, possibly) may, meen main, neel nail, peel pail, slee (a new formation from the past participle) to slay; sleen slain, sneel snail, teel tail.

- § 66. a became lengthened to ā before mb already in early ME., as is shown by the forms in the Ormulum. This ā fell together with OE. ā=Germanic ai, and has accordingly become up (see § 122) in the Windhill dialect: kuem comb, wuem womb. lam lamb is a new formation from the plural, where the short vowel was regularly retained, cp. Ormulum acc. sing. lamb (i. 274) beside acc. plural lammbre (ii. 109). The word-lists in vol. v of Ellis' Early English Pronunciation show that all English dialects have a short vowel in this word.
- § 67. a has become ei in eit *eight*, eit' (with suspended t) *eighth*. In meitš to measure the ei seems to point to an OE. æ (cp. §§ 132, 138).
- § 68. a has become is in bird beard, gio(r) gear, isrin herring.
- § 69. æ (a) has become $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ in $\mathbf{g\bar{o}s}$ (OE. $\mathbf{gærs}$, ME. \mathbf{gers}) grass; and oi in loin (OE. lane, lone) lane, which has had the same development as old \mathbf{o} in open syllables. See § 109.
- § 70. Short a in originally open syllables has usually become ee. But see § 71.

Examples are: beed to bathe, beek to bake, but bak-stn (lit.

bake-stone) the iron plate on which out cakes are baked, bee(r) bare, pret. bee(r) bore, bleed blade, bleez to blaze, deel dale, dlee(r) (ME. glarin) to stare hard, dreeg (OE. dragan) to drawl, dreek drake, eeg (OE. haga) the berry of the hawthorn (the tree is called tšīz en bried trī lit. cheese and bread tree), eaka(r) acre, eal ale, ea(r) hare, est to hate, be-esv to behave, fee(r) to fare, fleek flake, freem (OE. framian) to make a start or beginning, nitingeel nightingale, geep to gape, e-geet in action, at work, geet gate, greev grave, greez to graze, keek bread of every kind, kee(r) care, kreev to crave, leedl ladle, leem lame, leed (O.Icel. hlada) barn, meed made, meeg (OE. maga) maw, meen mane, nīt-mee(r) nightmare, meet (M. Low Germ. mate) mate, neeg (OE. gnagan) to gnaw, neekt naked, neem name, preet (cp. Swed. prata) to prate, babble, reek rake, reede(r) rather, seeg (OE. sage) a saw, seek sake, seel sale, seem same, skeelz scales, skreep to scrape, sneek snake, snee(r) snare, speed spade, speen (OE. spanan) to wean, spee(r) to spare, steek stake, steel (pret.) stole, stee(r) to stare, steevz staves, sweep the handle of a machine, šeed shade, šeem shame, šee(r) share, šeev to shave, teel tale, teem tame, teen taken, weed to wade, weel whale, ween to wane, wee(r) (ME. waren) to spend or lay out money, weev wave, weeve(r) to waver.

§ 71. æ (a) appears as a in: gavlek (OE. gafoluc spear) crowbar, mak to make, ransak (O.Icel. rannsaka to search a house) to ransack, tak (O.Icel. taka) to take, šak to shake, šakl shackle, sadl saddle, stapl staple, faðe(r) father, laðe(r) foam, froth. On the stem-vowel in the last five words cp. the similar double development in German in such words as Schemel, Vater, nehmen, beside Semmel, Vetter, kommen. See Paul-Braune's Beiträge, vol. ix. pp. 101-135.

e.

§ 72. West Germanic e and the OE. e which arose from the i-umlaut of a(o) have fallen together in the W. dialect as also in all other Mod. Engl. dialects, at least so far as can be ascertained from the word-lists in Ellis' EEP. vol. v.

§ 73. e (= old e and the i-umlaut of a(o)) in originally closed syllables usually appears as e in the W. dialect; and also when e was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an 1, m, n, r.

I. Old e:

beg (OE. bedecian) to beg, belo to bellow, bel bell, delf a stone quarry, delv to delve, eldo(r)-trī elder, elm elm, elp help, etn eaten, onent anent, opposite, evm heaven, felt felt, feðo(r) feather, freš fresh, getn (pp.) got, jel yell, jelp yelp, kres cress, leðo(r) leather, melt to melt, nest nest, nevi (OE. nefa, gen. nefan) nephew, reko to reckon, sel(sen) self, seldn (OE. seldon) seldom, sevm seven, skelp (ME. skelpen) to beat, flog, skep (O. Icel. skeppa) a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, etc., smel to smell, smelt to smelt, spek speck, swel to swell, swelt (OE. sweltan) to faint, be overpowered by heat, twenti twenty, preš to thresh, prešld threshold, weft weft, west west, weðo(r) (OE. weder) weather, weðo(r) (OE. weðer) the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before.

2. i-umlaut of a(o):

bed bed, bef (Germ. bäffen to bark) to cough, bek (O. Icel. bekkr) beck, beli belly, belesez bellows, belt belt, bend to bend, benk bench, best best, bete(r) better, blend to blend, dregz dregs, drenš to drench, eb ebb, edž edge, edž hedge, eft (O. Icel. hepti) haft, eg (O. Icel. eggia) to urge, incite,

eg (O. Icel. egg) egg, el hell, els else, em hem, en hen, end end, esp (O. Icel. hespa) hasp, evi heavy, fel to fell, kemp (ME. kempe) short coarse white hairs in wool, ketl kettle, leg (O. Icel. leggr) leg, lenp (by assimilation) length, men men, mens (OE. mennisc dignity, honour) neatness, neb bill, beak, nek neck, net net, netl nettle, pen pen, peni penny, rest rest, retš wretch, seg sedge, sek (O. Icel. sekkr) sack, sel to sell, send to send, sent sent, set to set, slek small coal, slek (OE. ge-sleccan) to extinguish a fire, etc. with water, snek (ME. snekke) the latch of a door, spend to spend, stem stem, step step, strenp (by assimilation) strength, stretš to stretch, šel shell, šelf shelf, tel to tell, temz (cp. OE. temsian to strain, pass through a sieve) a coarse hair sieve, tletš (cp. O. Icel. klekia to hatch, bring forth) brood of chickens, twelft twelfth, twelv twelve, web web, wed (OE. weddian) to wed, marry, wedž wedge, wel (noun) well, welp whelp, oue(r)-welt (O. Icel. velta) to turn over, upset, went went, wet-stn whet-stone.

§ 74. er in the combination er + consonant has partly become ā and partly ie. The reasons for this twofold development are not clear. It is probable that the words belonging to the latter category have been influenced by the literary language:

āt heart, bāk to bark, bākm (OE. beorg + ham N.E.D. sub bargham) collar of a horse, bām barm, bān (OE. bern) barn, dāk dark, dwāf dwarf, fāt (ME. ferten) pedere, kāv to carve, smāt smart, stāv to starve, wāk (noun) work, wāte (lit. work-day) week-day.

Before final r we have $\bar{\mathbf{a}} \mathbf{e} : \mathbf{f}\bar{\mathbf{a}}\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ (OE. $\mathbf{f}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{r}$) far, $\mathbf{s}\mathbf{t}\bar{\mathbf{a}}\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ (OE. $\mathbf{s}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{o}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{a}$) star, $\mathbf{w}\bar{\mathbf{a}}\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ (O. Icel. $\mathbf{v}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{e}$) worse.

ionist earnest, iop earth, jiod (3 feet) yard, jion yearn, lion learn.

The following words seem to have been borrowed from the literary language: ben to burn, gen (with metathesis) to grin, web worth, sued (older swed) sword.

- § 75. e has become ie before r not followed by another consonant: bie(r) to bear, pie(r) pear, smie(r) to smear, spie(r) spear, swie(r) to swear, wie(r) to wear, šie(r) to shear. The only exceptions are: tāe(r) tar, mee(r) mare.
- § 76. e (i-umlaut of a) has become i before original p (now p or nž): ip (ME. hengen, O. Icel. hengia) to hang, inž hinge, iplnd England, ipliš English, dip up (O. Icel. dengia to beat, strike) to reproach, flip (ME. flingen) to fling, throw, krinž to cringe, lipe(r) to linger, mipl to mingle, sinž to singe, slip to sling, strip string, pink to think, wip wing.
- § 77. e has become i in: giv, gi to give, kil to kill, milk milk, rid rid, siks six, sikst sixth, silve(r) silver, siste(r) (probably from O. Icel. syster) sister, sitš such, šil (ME. schellen, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has schillin, Stratmann) to shell peas, etc., wile willow, witš which.
- § 78. e has become i before ld: fild field, jild to yield šild shield, wild to wield.
- § 79. The following words also have $\bar{\imath}$: $b\bar{\imath}zm$ besom, $d\bar{\imath}$ (ME., Ormulum dezen) to die, $w\bar{\imath}l$ (adv.) well, but see § 399, $w\bar{\imath}zl$ weazel, and $g\bar{\imath}n$ given.
- § 80. e has become o in: fotš (OE. feccan, Town. Myst. fetche, foche, inf. fott, Sweet, HES. p. 315) to fetch, jole yellow, jon yon, swole (OE. swelgan, ME., Ormulum swollzhen) to swallow. We have oe in joen (OE. geonian, also gānian) to yawn.
- § 81. e has become e in: beri berry, (e)levm eleven, jest yeast, jestede yesterday, jet yet.

§ 82. e has become is in: stied instead, friet to fret, bewail, mourn over, risp to reap, but cp. Sievers, OE. Gr. § 382, 3.

 \S 83. OE. eol has become up in : jupk yolk.

§ 84. ME. ei from OE. eg, O. Icel. ei has become ee:

breed (OE. bregdan) to resemble, act like another person, geen (OE. gegn) near, direct, lee to lay, leed laid, leen lain, reen rain, see to say, seel sail, wee way, ewee away.

been (O. Icel. beinn) near, direct, beet bait, nee nay, steek steak, dee (accented form) they, dee(r) (accented form) their.

e has also become ee in feevr(r) fever.

§ 85. e(eo) + w has become eu: eu ewe, streu to strew.

§ 86. The combination eht has become eit: feit to fight, reit right, streit straight.

§ 87. Short e in open syllables has generally become ei:

beid bead, breitš (O. Fris. breke) a breach, eit to eat, bried-fleik (O. Icel. fleki hurdle) a hurdle on which oatcakes are dried, meil meal-flower, meit meat, neid to knead, neiv (O. Icel. knefi) fist, pei (ME. pese) pea, speik to speak, bed-steid bedstead, steil to steal, steil (OE. stel) the handle of a pot or jug, steim (OE. ge-stefnian, a-stemnian to give voice for, appoint) to bespeak, treid to tread, wei (OE. wegan) to weigh, weik (ME. weke) the wick of a lamp or candle, weiv to weave.

§ 88. Short e in open syllables has remained in: brek to break, get (O. Icel. geta) to get, lek (O. Icel. leka) to leak.

i.

§ 89. OE. i has generally remained: bid to invite to a funeral, pp. bidn, big big, large, bil

bill, bin (OE. binnan) within, bind to bind, bin (ME. bing, O. Icel. bingr) a bin, bit a bit, bite(r) bitter, bitn bitten, bitš bitch, biznes business, blind blind, blis bliss, brim (ME. brimmen, cp. O. Icel. brimi burning heat) to put the boar to the sow, brip to bring, dig to dig, dim dim, dis dish, diðe(r) (ME. diderin) to tremble, shiver with cold, dlite(r) to glitter, drift drift, dripk to drink, driven driven, fidl fiddle, fikl fickle, film film, fin fin, find to find, fine(r) finger, fiš fish, fit ready, prepared, flik flitch, fliko(r) to flicker, flint flint, gidi giddy, gift gift, gilt (OE. gilte, O. Icel. gilta) a young female pig, be-gin to begin, grind to grind, grip grip, if if, ik to hitch, il ill, ilt hilt, im him, in, i in, inde(r) (occ. inde(r)) to hinder, bi-int behind, it it, it to hit, ide(r) hither, iz is, iz his, kid kid, kip-kof whoopingcough, kink (ME. kinken to pant, gasp) to cough (of whooping-cough), kist (O. Icel. kista) chest, box, kit (ME. kitte) a pail, kitl (ME. kitelen) to tickle, krisp crisp, lid lid, lig (OE. licgan) to lie down, lik to lick, lim limb, lip lip, liv to live, livə(r) liver, midl middle, miks to mix, mil-deu mildev, mint mint, mis to miss, mizl-tue mistletoe, mist mist, mitš much, nibl to nibble, niml nimble, nit (OE. hnitu) nit, pig pig, pigin a small water-can, pitš pitch, pip pith, prik to prick, prikl prickle, rib rib, ridl (ME. ridil Prom. Parv. p. 433, Stratmann) sieve, ridn ridden, rift (ME. riften) to belch, eructate, rim rim, rind rind, rip ring, rip to wring, ripkl wrinkle, rist wrist, rizn risen, ritn written, sift to sift, sikl sickle, grun-sil groundsel, silk silk, sin since, sinde(r) cinder, sin to sing, sink to sink, sit to sit, siv sieve, skift to shift, remove, skin skin, skil skill, slidn (pp.) slid, slipk to slink, slip to slip, slipi slippery, slitn (pp.) slit, smitl to infect, smitn smitten, smib smith, smidi smithy, spil to spill, spin to spin, spinl spindle, spit to spit, spitek spigot, sprip to spring, stik stick, stik to stick, stil still, stip to sting, stipk

to stink, stitš stitch, striko stricken, swift swift, swil (OE. swilian) to rinse, wash out, swiling thin liquid food for pigs, swim to swim, swim to swing, šift chemise, šilin shilling, šin shin, šip ship, šrimp shrimp, šripk to shrink, tik tick, til to till, tin tin, tit, titi (OE. tit) breastmilk, tlim to climb, tlip to cling, tlip to clip, tšikin chicken, tšildə(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. ban is always used) children, tšin chin, twig twig, twin twin, twinkl to twinkle, twist twist, pik thick, friendly, in love with, pin thing, pisl thistle, brift thrift, dis this, wi with, wide widow, widower, wik (O. Icel. vik stirring, moving) quick, alive, wik week, wil (accented form) will, win to win, wind wind, wind to wind, windo window, winte(r) winter, wink to wink, wispe(r) to whisper, wisl to whistle, wit wit, witl (ME. bwitel) large carving knife, witš witch, wizn (OE. wisnian to dry up) to wither.

 δ 90. ir + consonant has become \bar{a} + consonant:

bēd bird, bēk birch, gēsl gristle, ēd herd, tšētš (but kē-get kirkgate) church, pēd third, pēti thirty, wēl to whirl.

- § 91. i has become e in: gosep gossip, jes yes, sterek (OE. stire, styric) heifer, e(r) her, tšerep to chirp.
- § 92. i has been lengthened before ld: mīld mild, wīld wild. But tšildə(r) (only used in the plural, for the sing. bān is used) children, owing to the following suffix.
- § 93. ME. iht has become it: brit bright, lit light, levis, lits the lungs of animals, mit (noun) might, nit night, shortened in fornit fortnight, plit plight, sit sight, slit slight, tit tight. weit (OE. gewihte) has been influenced by wei to weigh.
- § 94. Medial OE. ig has become ī in: stī sty, ladder, stīl (OE. stigel) stile, tīl tile.

 \S 95. i has become ai in: ai (accented form, see \S 350) I.

§ 96. iw has become iu: thiu (OE. cliwe) a ball of string or worsted.

§ 97. i has become u in: kud (OE. cwidu) cud, ruš rush, tul to.

§ 98. i has become io in: flio(r) (Norw. flira) to laugh or sneer at, striok streak, stripe, diez these.

§ 99. i has become e in: lenit (ME. lynet, probably from Fr. linotte) linnet.

0.

§ 100. OE. o (= West Germanic o) in originally closed syllables has usually remained o; and also when o was originally followed by a single consonant + a suffix containing an 1, m, n, r:

blob (see N.E.D.) a bubble, bulb, bodm bottom, boks box, bore to borrow, broken broken, brop broth, dof to undress, dog dog, doken (OE. docce) a dock, dolt lump of dirt, don to dress, drop drop, džogl (cp. ME. joggen) to shake, flok flock, fog (ME. fogge) aftergrass, foks fox, fole to follow, fond (ME. fonned, pp. of fonnen be foolish) fond, fotn (pp.) fought, frog frog, frost frost, frop froth, frozn frozen, god god, gospl gospel, kob-web cob, kod cod, kof cough, kok cock, kokl cockle, kolep (ME. colop, cp. O. Swed. kollops) slice (of bacon), kope(r) copper, kroft (OE. croft) a small field, krop crop, kros cross, loft loft, lok lock, loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, lop (OE. lopp) flea, loped (ME. lopren coagulate) clotted, covered with dirt, lopste(r) lobster, lost lost, lot lot, mos moss, mop moth, nod (ME. nodden) nap, short sleep, nok

to knock, not knot, notš notch, od odd, ofi offal, oft oft, often, og (ME. hog) the first year's wool of a sheep, oks ox, ole hollow, olin (OE. holen) the holly-tree, twig of the hollytree, on (accented form) on, op to hop, opm open, oto(r) otter, otšed orchard, ovl hovel, plot plot, poks pox, prod to prick, goad, rok rock, rot to rot, slop (O. Icel. sloppr) the leg of a pair of trousers, slot (ME. slot) bolt of a door, smok smock, snod (O. Icel. snodinn smooth (of hair)), smooth, even, snodn to make smooth, snot snot, sod sod, sodnd saturated, wet through, sok sock, sore sorrow, spoko spoken, spot spot, stok stock, stop to stop, šop shop, šot shot, šotn (pp.) shot, tlog a shoe with wooden soles, tlok the common black beetle, tlok to cluck, tlot clot, tlovm cloven, top top, topin (ME. topping) the front part of the hair of the head, topl to fall over, tot a small beer glass, trodn trodden, trof trough, tšozn chosen, prosl (OE. prostle) thrush, protl (ME. protlen) to press on the windpipe, wovm woven.

- § 101. oht has become out: bout bought, doute(r) daughter, rout wrought. We have however o in fotn (§ 100) fought.
- § 102. ME. ow (=OE. og) has become ou: reen-bou rain-bow, floun flown.
- § 103. ol + consonant has become ou + consonant: boul bowl, bouste(r) bolster, bout bolt, fouk folk, goud gold, kouk (see N.E.D. sub. colk) coke, cinder, kout colt, out holt, moud-wāp a mole, stoun stolen, toul toll.

But we have o in wod (accented form) would; and u in sud (accented form) should; and oo in noop (ME. nolpen to strike) to beat, strike.

 \S 104. The development of o before a following \mathbf{r} :

(1) oa: boan born, foak fork, koan corn, ta-moan to-

morrow, moen, moenin morning, noep north, oen horn, oes horse, stoem storm, swoen sworn, šoen shorn, šoet short, toen torn, poen thorn.

(2) uə: ə-fuə(r) before, smuə(r) (OE. smorian) to smother, suffocate.

bued board, e-fued afford, ued hoard.

(3) $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$: $\mathbf{sp\bar{e}}(\mathbf{r})$ spur, $\mathbf{w\bar{e}d}$ word, $\mathbf{w\bar{e}ld}$ world.

§ 105. o has become up in: buoko (ME. bolkin) to belch, retch, fluet float, kuov cove, juok yoke, upp hope, nuoz nose, puok (OE. poca) sack, puoni pony, puost (OE. post from Lat. postis) post, ruoz a rose, stuov stove, suok to souk, suop (OE. sopa sup, small quantity (of water)) a little tea or beer, etc., tšuok to choke.

Note.—Most, if not all, of the above words are early borrowings from the literary language.

§ 106. o has become ū in: smūk to smoke, šūl shovel, stūp (ME. stolpe) a post.

§ 107. o has become u in: dul dull, foks-dluv fox-glove, flute(r) to flutter, kus (noun, also used as verb) kiss, uvm oven. It is very probable that the u in some of these words goes back to OE. y (§ 121), as has been pointed out by Prof. Napier in the Academy, May 7, 1892, p. 447.

§ 108. o has become e through loss of stress in: Sen then, wen when.

§ 109. o in originally open syllables has generally become oi: boil (O.Icel. bolr, ME. bole) bole of a tree, foil foal, goit (ME. gote) channel, mill-stream, koil coal, pigcoit (OE. cot, cote) pig-sty, loin (OE. lone) lane, loiz (OE. losian) to lose, moit mote, oil hole, roid (mostly used in the plural roidz) a clearing (of a wood), soil (OE. sol) ground,

earth, soil (OE. sole, Lat. solea) sole, thois (OE. close) a field, toidi very small, poil (OE. polian to endure) to give ungrudgingly, proit throat.

§ 110. Short o in open syllables has remained in: bodi (OE. bodig) body, popi (OE. popig) poppy.

u.

§ 111. Short u has generally remained unchanged:

bluðe(r) to cry, weep, buk buck, bul bull, bulek bullock, bun (pp. of bind) bound, obliged, beholden, bute(r) butter, bust to bustle, druke (pp.) drunk, dub a small pool of water, dum dumb, dun to urge for payment, dup dung, ful full, fule(r) fuller, fun (pp.) found, grunsil groundsel, grunt to grunt, grumble, find fault, grund ground, grunz (pl.) sediment, be-gun begun, gust gust, guts (OE. gutt) entrails, belly, jup young, krudl (cp. ME. cruddin) to curdle, krudz (ME. crudde) curds, krum crumb, krumpl to crumple, kudl to embrace, kuf (kuft) cuff, kum to come, kunin cunning, kup cup, lug (ME. luggen, Swed. lugga to lug, drag) to pull the hair of the head, lup lung, luv love, muml to mumble, mun (accented form, O.Icel. muna will, shall) must, musl mussel, num numb, nut nut, pluk to pluck, pund a pound, rudi ruddy, run wrung, skuft the nape of the neck, skul skull (of the head), skuto(r) to spill, slup slung, sprup sprung, spun spun, stubi (cp. O.Icel. stubbi stock of a tree) short and stiff, stump stump, stun to stun, stup stung, stut (cp. ME. stutten to cease, stay) to stutter, sum some, sumo(r) summer, sumot (lit. somewhat) something, anything, sump a puddle or dirty pool of water, sun son, sun sun, sunde Sunday, suko sunk, suo sung, swum (pp.) swum, swun swung, šrukn shrunk, šun to shun,

šuðə(r) (ME. schuderen) to shudder, tlup clung, tlustə(r) cluster, tub (ME. tubbe) tub, tug (ME. tuggen) to tug, plod, tuml to tumble, tun tun, tup tongue, tup (ME. tuppe) a ram, tusk tusk, tšuf proud, haughty, ug to carry, ugli ugly, ugp (see Notes and Queries i. 10. 400, Nov. 18, 1854) hip, ulz (ME. huls) bean-swads, unded hundred, under, under, uni honey, unt to hunt, upe(r) hunger, pune(r) thunder, wud wood, wulzi wollen, wun (pp.) wound, wun (pp.) won, wund wound, wunde(r) wonder.

§ 112. u has become ū in: būk, būkþ (ME. bulke, O.Icel. bulki) bulk, size, ə-būn (OE. on-bufan) above, mūfin muffin, pūl to pull, šūldə(r) (this word has been influenced by the literary language. Most old people still say šūðə(r)) shoulder, wūl wool (but wulzi wollen).

§ 113. u before a following r.

- (1) $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$: $\mathbf{d}\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ st durst, $\mathbf{k}\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ s to curse, \mathbf{s} k $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ f scurf, \mathbf{s} n $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ t (ME. snurtin, \mathbf{c} p. Low Germ. snurten to snort, snore) to sneeze, giggle, $t\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ n to turn, $t\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ f turf.
- (2) e: bere borough, eri row, disturbance, noise, fere furrow.
- (3) ue: due(r) door, muen to mourn. It is highly probable, however, that muen has nothing to do with OE. murnan, but is simply muen to moan (§ 122).
- § 114. Medial ug has become ā: fāl (OE. fugol) fowl, kāl (OE. cugle) cowl, sā (OE. sugu) sow.
- § 115. u underwent early lengthening, and then had the same further development as old ū (§ 171) in: ānd hound, bāns (ME. bunsen) to bounce, drānd (OE. druncnian) to drown.
- § 116. u has become iu in: priu (prift) through, from, on account of.

у.

§ 117. y (=the i-umlaut of u) has generally become i: bizi busy, brig bridge, brim brim, brimstn brimstone, did did, didl (cp. OE. dyderian) to cheat, din din, dip to dip, dizi dizzy, fil to fill, flig (ME. fligge, cp. OHG. flukke able to fly) to fledge, flit to remove, kiln kiln, ekin akin, kinl to bring forth (of rabbits), kinlin firewood, kip king, kripl cripple, kitšn kitchen, ig (OE. hyge mind) mood, temper, il hill, inš inch, ip hip, ipin a cloth placed round the hips of children, lift to lift, lip (O.Icel. lyng) heather, lisn to listen, mig midge, miln mill, nit to knit, pile pillow, pit pit, rig (OE. hrycg) back, rigin ridge of a house, sil sill, sin sin, kā-slip cowslip, snift to sniff, scent, stint to stint, tlik (OE. clycc(e)an, see N.E.D. sub clitch) to seize, snatch, catch hold, tlip to clip, trim to trim, þin thin.

 \S 118. yht has become it: flit flight, frit fright, rit wright.

- § 119. y has become ī before ld: bīld to build, gīld to gild.
 - § 120. y before a following r.
- (1) ē: bēdn burden, bēl āt (OE. byrlian) to draw or pour out (drink to or for anyone), bēþ birth, ēdl hurdle, fēst first, gēdl girdle, kēnl kernel, mēþe(r) to murder, mēki mirky, šēt shirt, tēd (cp. OE. tyrdel, Stratmann) turd, wēk to work, wēm worm.
- (2) 9: beri to bury, meri merry, sperinz (cp. OE. spyrian) banns of marriage, ste(r) to stir, weri to worry, fig-wet figwort.
- § 121. y has become u in: bluš to blush, bruslz bristles, bunl bundle, krutš crutch, muk muck, stubl stubble, šut to shut, šutl shuttle, trunl trundle.

2. The Long Vowels.

ā.

§ 122. The normal development of OE. ā in the W. dialect is ue:

brued broad, buen bone, bue(r) boar, buet boat, buep both, druen drone, druev (noun) drove, due doe, duef dough, duefl cowardly, duel dole, fuem foam, gued goad, gruen to groan, gruep to grope, gruev grove, gue to go, e-gue ago, guen gone, gue(r) gore, guest ghost, guet goat, kruek to croak, lued load, burden, luef loaf, luen loan, eluen alone, luensm lonely, luep loath, lueð to loathe, muen (OE. mænan, ME. mænen, manen) to moan, mue(r) more, muest most, nue no, nuen none, rued road, ruep rope, rue(r) to roar, struek to stroke, struek (OE. strāc) half a bushel, stuen stone, sue so, suep soap, sue(r) sore, tluep cloth, tluez clothes, tlueð to clothe, tlueve(r) clover, tue toe, tued toad, tueko token, tuen (lit. the one) one of two, ue who, uek oak, ueli holy, uel whole, uem home, uenli lonely, ue(r) oar, ue(r) hoar, ues(t) (OE. hās) hoarse, uets oats, ueþ oath, wue woe.

§ 123. āw has become oo:

bloe to blow, kroe crow, kroe to crow, moe to mow, noe to know, sloe slow, snoe snow, soe to sow, poe to thaw, proe to throw, oede(r) either, noede(r) neither.

But we have ou in: out (OE. āwiht) aught, nout (OE. nāwiht) naught, soul (OE. sāwol) soul.

§ 124. ā has become ou in:

lou (O.Icel. lāgr) low, ou (OE. āgan) to owe, out (OE. āhte) ought; but oe in: oen (OE. āgen) own.

§ 125. ā was shortened to a at an early period in: as, aks (OE. āscian, ācsian) to ask, alidə (OE. hālig-dæg)

holiday, lavrek (OE. lawerce, ME. laverce) lark, spatl (OE. spatl) spittle. To e in meš mash, cp. § 59.

And to o in sori (OE. sārig) sorry. But this word has probably been influenced by sore (OE. sorg) sorrow.

§ 126. ā has become u in ut hot, wun one, wuns once.

§ 127. O.Norse ei (=OE. ā) has become ee: feek (O.Icel.feikr) trick, deception, leek (O.Icel.leika) to play, week (O.Icel.veikr) weak. It is not absolutely necessary to assume that these words are of Norse origin; they may be regularly developed from OE. fācen, lācan, wāc with early shortening of the ā before the following k, cp. words like leitš leech (§ 132), teitš teach (§ 138), which cannot be of Norse origin.

§ 128. ā has become θ in the unaccented particles: $\theta = \alpha n$, $\theta = \alpha n$,

§ 129. The following words remain unclassed: poul pole, probably an early borrowing from the lit. language; the same is probably the case with rees race, swip to sweep (OE. swāpan, pret. swēop) with the vowel of the pret. transferred to the present, tū two.

Germanic æ.

§ 130. Germanic $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}$ (=WS. $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}$, O.North. $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}$) has become $\tilde{\mathbf{i}}$ in: grīdi greedy, $\tilde{\mathbf{i}}$ min (OE. $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}$ fnung, ME. $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}$ fening) evening, nīdl needle, rīd to read, sīd seed, slīp to sleep, strīt street, $\tilde{\mathbf{s}}$ īp sheep, $\tilde{\mathbf{t}}$ šīz cheese, þrīd thread.

§ 131. It has become io in:

brieß breath, brieß to breathe, dried to dread, fie(r) fear, e-fied afraid, iel eel, iernd errand, jie(r) year, miel meal, repast, swiel (OE. swælan, O.Icel. svæla) to gutter (of a candle), Sie(r) there, wiepm weapon, wie(r) where, wiez to wheeze.

§ 132. Before $\mathbf{c}(\mathbf{k})$ it became shortened to \mathbf{e} , and then underwent the same further development as old \mathbf{e} in open syllables (§ 87): leitš leech, speitš speech.

§ 133. It has become ee in: bleet to bleat, gree gray, ee(r) hair, weev wave.

§ 134. It underwent early shortenings to e in: bleðə(r) bladder, let to let, medə meadow, red (OE. rædde) read, sed (OE. sæde, older sægde, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 214, 3) said, setədə (OE. sæterdæg) Saturday, slept slept, sez sayest, says, šeped shepherd, šepstə(r) starling, wet wet.

§ 135. It has become a in: blast blast.

§ 136. It has become i in: ridl riddle, sili silly.

OE. $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ (=i-umlaut of $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$).

 \S 137. The normal development of the i-umlaut of $\tilde{\mathbf{a}}$ is is:

briedp breadth, diel deal, dliem gleam, iel to heal, ielp health, iet heat, iedn heathen, lied to lead, liede(r) tendon, lien lean, liest least, liev to leave, mien mean, mien to mean, intend, rie(r) to rear, riep wreath, sie sea, siet seat, swiet to sweat, šiep sheath, tiez to tease, tlien c!ean, wiet wheat.

§ 138. Before c(k) it became shortened to e, and then underwent the same further development as old e in open syllables (§ 87), cp. also § 132: bleitš to bleach, reik to reach, teitš to teach.

§ 139. æ has also become ei in:

- (1) lein to lean, spreid to spread.
- (2) kei key, nei neigh.

140. æht has become out: tout (OE. tæhte) taught.

 \S 141. $\tilde{\mathbf{z}}$ has become eə in: leədi lady, steəz stairs, tleə clay.

§ 142. It has become op in: noover) neither, opver(r) either. These examples rather belong to § 123. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 346, 348.

§ 143. It underwent early shortening to **e** in: **emti** empty, fleš flesh, left (pret. and pp.) left, lent (pret. and pp.) lent (len to lend has its vowel from the pret.) les less, ment meant.

§ 144. It was shortened at an early period to a in: bad bad, fat fat, laðə(r) ladder, mad mad, madlin a bewildered or confused person, stupid fellow, rasl to wrestle, spat (pret.) spat.

§ 145. It has become i in ive(r) ever, ivri every, nive(r) never.

§ 146. oni (OE. ænig) has been influenced by moni (OE. manig) many.

ē.

r. \bar{e} (=i-umlaut of \bar{o}).

§ 147. ē, the i-umlaut of ō, has become ī: blīd to bleed, brīd to breed, dīm to deem, fīd to feed, fīl to feel, fīt feet, gīs geese, grīn green, grīt to greet, īd heed, īl heel, kīl (OE. cēlan) to cool, kīn keen, kīp to keep, kwīn queen, mīt to meet, sīk to seek, sīm to seem, slī sly, swīt sweet, tīm (O. Icel. tēma) to pour out, tīp teeth, wīp to weep.

§ 148. It was shortened early to e before consonant combinations in: bled bled, bles to bless, bred bred, gezlin gosling, fed fed, felt (pret.) felt, kept kept, met met, tem (pret. of tīm § 147) poured out, tem-ful brimful.

§ 149. The following forms are irregular: britšez (OE.

bræc) breeches, weest (OE. wæste) waste, wieri (OE. wærig) weary.

- 2. ē (=older ie, partly arising from the i-umlaut of ēa, ēo, and partly arising from ecthlipsis).
- § 150. This ē has also generally become ī: dī to dye, drī dreary, lītnin lightning, bə-līv to believe, nīd need, sīn seen, slīv sleeve, stīl steel, stīpl steeple, šīt sheet, tī to tie, siks-tīn sixteen.

Note.—This ē has been shortened to i in: rik reek, smoke, strip to strip.

- § 151. It has become io before a following r in: iod heard, io(r) to hear, nio(r) (OHG. nioro) kidney, stio(r) to steer.
- § 152. $\bar{\mathbf{e}}$ has been shortened to \mathbf{e} at an early period in: nekst next.
- § 153. It has become ee in: ee hay; and ei in: eit height.
 - 3. Germanic ē.
- § 154. let (pret.) let, io(r) here. Here may also be placed: mīdlos (cp. OE. mēd, older moord pay, reward) troublesome, tiresome, to no purpose.
- 4. The OE. ē which arose from lengthening in monosyllables (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 121).
- § 155. This ē has become ī in the following accented forms (§ 350): ī he, jī ye, mī me, šī thee, wī we.

ī.

§ 156. OE. ī has regularly become ai: aidl idle, aim (OE. hrīm?) hoarfrost, ain hind, ais ice, aivi ivy, baid (OE. bīdan) to endure, put up with, wait, stay, remain, bait to

bite, braidl bridle, daik dike, dyke, dlaid to glide, draiv to drive, fail file, faiv five, graip to gripe, graim (ME. grīm) soot (on the kettle), kraist Christ, laif life, laik like, laim lime, lain line, o-laiv alive, mai (accented form) my, mail mile, main mine, mait mite, naif knife, paik pike, pail pile, pain to pine, paip pipe, raid to ride, raip ripe, rait to write, raiv (O. Icel. rīfa to break) to tear, raiz to rise, said side, sail (ME. sīlen) to strain through a sieve, saip (cp. MHG. sifen) to ooze or drain out slowly, said scythe, slaid to slide, slaim slime, slaip to take away the skin or outside covering, smait to smite, snaip snipe, straid to stride, straik to strike, swaim to climb up a tree or pole, swaip (cp. MHG. swifen) to sweep off, remove hastily, šain to shine, šait cacare, šaiv (ME. schīve) slice, taid feast time, taidin a present from the feast, taik (O. Icel. tīk dog) a low fellow, taim time, tait (in the phrase: es tait as soon, comp. taite(r) sooner, rather, ME. tīt, O. Icel. masc. tīðr, neut. tītt) soon, twain twine, twais twice, Sai (accented form) thy, Sain thine, praiv to thrive, waid wide, waif wife, wail a while, time, wain wine, waip to wipe, wait white, waiz wise, fraide Friday.

§ 157. \bar{i} before a following r: aion iron, spaio(r) spire, waio(r) wire.

§ 158. Old ī appears as ī in: sī to sigh (§ 318, b), skrīk (O. Low Germ. scrīcōn, Swed. skrīka) to shriek. And possibly in stī (OE. stīg, OHG. stīga) ladder, but see § 94.

§ 159. iw has become iu: spiu (OE. spiwan) to spew, tiuzdo (OE. tiwesdæg) Tuesday.

§ 160. ī underwent early shortening to i in: bi (unaccented form) by, dwinl to dwindle, fift fifth, fifti fifty, fipms fivepence, linin linen, linsīd linseed, stif stiff, wimin women, midif midwife, wizdm wisdom.

§ 161. rī has become ā through metathesis in: kāsmes Christmas, kāsn to christen.

§ 162. ī has become u in: wumn woman; iə in: sniək to sneak; ə in: stərəp stirrup.

ō.

§ 163. The normal development of ō is ui: bluid blood, bruid brood, buin boon, buit to boot, buið booth, buizm bosom, duin done, fluid flood, fuid food, fuit foot, guid good, guis goose, kruidl to shrink or cower with cold, fear or pain, kuil cool, muid mood, muild confusion, bad temper, muin moon, nuin noon, pruiv (OE. prōflan from Lat. probāre) to prove, ruid rood, ruif roof, ruit root, skuil school, smuið smooth, spuin spoon, stuid stood, stuil stool, suin soon, suit soot, tuil tool, tuip tooth, šuin shoes, uid hood, uif hoof, uin (ME. hōnen) to harass, treat badly.

§ 164. ō has become in before k, m, and when the vowel has come to stand finally in the mod. dialect.

(a) Before k: briuk brook, iuk hook, kriuk crook, liuk to look, niuk nook, riuk rook, šiuk shook, tiuk took.

būk book, and kūk cook have been borrowed from the literary language.

- (b) Before m: blium bloom, brium broom, dlium gloom, dium doom, gium gum, lium loom.
- (c) When final in the mod. dialect: biu bough, diu to do, driu drew, iniu (plural) enough, pliu plough, sliu slew, tiu too.

šū shoe has been borrowed from the literary language, cp. the pl. form šuin § 163. ō appears as i in inif (sing.) enough.

§ 165. ō has become uə before r: dluə(r) (ME. glōrən) to stare, fluə(r) floor, muə(r) moor.

§ 166. ōw has become ou: dlou to glow, flou to flow, grou to grow, stou to stow.

§ 167. ōht became oht already in OE. (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 125), and has become out in the W. dialect, cp. § 101: brout brought, sout sought, pout thought.

§ 168. ō has become ou in: skoup scoop.

§ 169. Shortenings of old ō.

- (a) To o: blosm blossom, foste(r) foster, fooe(r) fodder, kom (OE. com) came, soft soft, sod shod, tof tough.
- (b) To u: bruðə(r) brother, dluv glove, duz dost, does, mundə Monday, munþ month, muðə(r) mother, sluf (OE. slōg) slough, tuðə(r) the other, uðə(r) other.

§ 170. ō has become e in wednzde (OE. wōdnes-dæg) Wednesday.

ū.

§ 171. ū has generally become ā: ā how, āl owl, āmivə(r) however, ās house, āt out, bā to bow, bān (O. Icel. būenn, lit. bound; generally used in the sense of going, as wiə(r) tə bān? where art thou going? am bān dān tloin I am going down the lane), brā brow, brān brown, bāt (OE. būtan, beūtan) without, e-bāt about, dān down, dāst dust, dlāmi (not the same word as gloomy which is dliumi § 164) sad, downcast, drāzi drowsy, fāl foul, ugly, kā cow, krād crowd, lād loud, lās louse, mās mouse, māp mouth, nā now, rām room, rāst rust, prād proud, sāk to suck, sāp south, slām (OE. slūma) slumber, sprāt (cp. ME. sprūte, M. Low Germ. sprūte) to sprout, šrād shroud, tān town,

tlād cloud, tlāt clout, trāst (ME. trūsten) to trust, ðā (accented form) thou, þāzn thousand.

§ 172. ū has become āə before a following r: āə(r) (accented form) our, kāə(r) dān (ME. couren, Swed. kūra to cower) to bend down, sit down, sāə(r) sour, šāə(r) shower. But we have ā in þāzdə Thursday.

§ 173. doen down, feathers, seems to have been borrowed from the literary language.

§ 174. ū was shortened to u at an early period in: busk (ME. busken from O. Icel. būask to get oneself ready) to go about from place to place singing and playing for money, druft drought, duv dove, fus fuss, kud (accented form) could, plum plum, ruf rough, uni-sukl honeysuckle, sup to drink, sup, šuv to shove, pum thumb, ulet owl, up up, uðe(r) udder, uz (accented form) us, uzbn husband.

It has been weakened to \bullet in the unaccented particle bed but.

ÿ.

§ 175. \bar{y} , the i-umlaut of \bar{u} , has become ai: aid hide, skin, aiv hive, braid bride, brain brine, drai dry, draip to drip, daiv to dive, kait kite, lais lice, mais mice, praid pride, skai sky.

§ 176. It has become air before a following r: air(r) to hire, fair(r) fire, mair(r) mire.

§ 177. It underwent early shortening to i in: filp filth, idn (pp. from which was formed a new present id to hide), litl little, lits (retained only in the game of lits en gets lit. littles and greats, a game played by boys with brass buttons, clog clasps, or small pieces of brass of any kind. Two lits

have the value of one gēt; cp. P. B. Beitr. ix. p. 365-7). piml thimble, wiš to wish.

§ 178. \bar{y} (?) has become u in prust to thrust.

3. The Diphthongs.

ēa.

- § 179. OE. ēa has generally become ie: biem beam, bien bean, biet to beat, bried bread, died dead, dief deaf, diep death, driem dream, e-gien again, against, ied head, iep heap, ie(r) ear, iest east, ieste(r) Easter, lied lead, lief leaf, be-lief belief, nie(r) near, pie-kok peacock, siem seam, stiem steam, stiep steep, strie (WS. strēa, O. North. strē, Sievers, OE. Gr. § 250, note 2) straw, striem stream, šief sheaf, tiem team, tšiep cheap, þriep (OE. þrēapian to rebuke) to contradict, þrietn to threaten.
- § 180. ēaw has become eu: deu dew, eu to hew, feu (OE. fēawe) few, šeu to show, teu (OE. tēawian) to work zealously.

But we have on in ron (OE. hrēaw) raw; which presupposes a form hrāw (§ 123).

- § 181. It has become \bar{i} in: \bar{i} (plural \bar{i} n) eye, $t\check{s}\bar{i}k$ cheek. The latter word has probably been borrowed from the literary language.
- § 182. It has become ei in: ei (OE. hēah) high, nei (OE. nēah) nigh, near. The ME. forms heh and neh would regularly become diphthongized to ei, see § 87.
- § 183. It has become ee in: flee (OE. flean, Skeat, Etym. Dict. p. 211) to skin, neebe(r) neighbour.

§ 184. O. Norse au has become ou in: loup (O. Icel. hlaupa) to leap, jump, lous (O. Icel. lauss) loose; and oe in: goom (O. Icel. gaum) heed, care, attention, goomles silly, stupid, root (O. Icel. rauta to roar) to bray.

 \S 185. ēa has become $\bar{\mathbf{o}}$ through absorption of \mathbf{r} in: $\mathbf{g\bar{\mathbf{o}}t}$ great.

§ 186. Shortenings of ēa:

- (a) To e in: efe(r) heifer, lek leek, red red.
- (b) To a in: later, tšap chap.

ēo.

§ 187. OE. ēo has generally become ī: bī bee, bī (accented form) to be, bīn been, dīp deep, dlī glee, fīnd fiend, flī to fly, flī fly, flīs fleece, frī free, frīz to freeze, krīp to creep, lī to lie, līf (OE. lēof) soon, līvo(r) sooner, rather, līt a light, nī knee, nīz (O. Icel. hniōsa) to sneeze, rīd reed, rīl reel, prīst priest, sī to see, sīð to seethe, snīz to sneeze, tlīv to cleave, trī tree, bo-twīn between, pī thigh, pīf thief, prī three, wīd weed, wīl wheel.

But we have tšiuz to choose (§ 366).

§ 188. It has become is before a following \mathbf{r} : bis(\mathbf{r}) beer, dis(\mathbf{r}) dear, drieri dreary.

§ 189. Before r+consonant it became shortened to e already in ME., and then had the same further development as old e before r+consonant (§ 87): dālin (OE. dēorling, ME. derrling) darling, fādin (OE. fēorðung, ME. ferthing) farthing.

§ 190. ēow has become iu: bliu blew, briu to brew, griu grew, jiuþ youth, kriu crew, niu new, niu knew, riu to

rue, sniu (§ 377) it snowed, tliu clew, triu true, triuþ truth, siu sowed, þriu threw.

But in the following words we have eu which points to an old ēaw (§ 180): eu yew, seu to sew, tšeu to chew. We have oue in: foue(r) (OE. fēower, but ME. fōwer, which would regularly become foue(r) in the dialect, § 166) four, fouet (OE. fēowerða) fourth, fouetīn (OE. fēowertēne) fourteen. And āe in: jāe(r) (accented form) your. This last word has been influenced by āe(r) our, § 172.

- § 191. The following two words remain unclassed: šū (accented form) she, šuit to shoot.
 - § 192. Early shortenings of ēo:
- (a) To e in: brest breast, fel (pret.) fell, frend friend, step-fa δ e(r) step-father. Anglian ēo (=WS. īe) has been shortened to e in: depp depth, ten ten.
 - (b) To o in: foti forty, fotnit fortnight.
- (c) To i in: divl devil, sik sick, e tūpri lit. a two (or) three, a few.
 - (d) To e in: se to lit. see thou, look! prepms threepence.

Elision of e.

§ 193. The \bullet is elided in the diphthongs and triphthongs $\bullet\bullet$, i \bullet , o \bullet , u \bullet , ā \bullet , ai \bullet ; iu \bullet , ou \bullet , when they occur finally and the next word begins with a vowel; thus gue but gu uem go home, me ai may I, but me \bullet wī (§ 393), no \bullet but a no im I know him, and similarly for the others.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FRENCH ELEMENT.

In the following treatment of the French element in the W. dialect, the present pronunciation of literary English has, in most cases, been taken as the starting point. The transcription of the lit. English vowel sounds is based on that given in Sweet's Primer of Spoken English, pp. 7-8, and is as follows:—

b as in just, dozen, double.

ā ,, grant, art, master.

ai " fine, pie, try.

au " doubt, powder.

æ " value, rat.

e ,, debt, measure.

ei ,, bacon, bailiff, pay.

ee ,, pair, chair.

ē ,, furnish, journey.

i ,, dinner, pity.

ij ,, beak, secret, beef, grief.

ie ,, flerce, clear.

o " jolly, profit.

oi " boil, poison.

ou ,, roast, notice.

ō ,, pork, daub, false.

u ,, put, butcher.

uw ,, fruit, blue.

ue " sure, poor.

§ 194. Lit. Engl. æ (written a) appears as a: abit habit, aktli actually, ali aisle, alley, arend (ME. araine, O. Fr. araigne) spider, avek havoc, baril barrel, damidž damage, faks facts, galek (O. Fr. galc) lefthand, galep to gallop, galn gallon, garit garret, gran-faðe(r), gram-faðe(r) grandfather, kap cap, kapil (Fr. capel a little hat, Cotgr.) a piece of leather sewn over a hole in a boot or shoe, karit carrot, lamp lamp, mane(r) manner, map (see Skeat, Etym. Dict. sub mop) a mop, mare to match a pattern, natrel (natre-bl) natural, pantri pantry, ratn (O. Fr. raton) rat, salit salad, skafl scaffold, skaflin scaffolding, stati statue, tali to agree, be right, te liv tali to live together without being married, tšapil chapel, vali valley, vale value.

§ 195. Lit. Engl. has ā where the W. dial. has a in: basted bastard, brans branch, grant to grant, paste(r) pasture, plant plant.

But ee in: bees bass, leerem alarum, meeste(r) master, pleeste(r) plaster.

§ 196. Lit. Engl. has ei (written a), but W. dial. a in: apren apron, stapl staple.

But we have moendž mange.

§ 197. a has become e before a following g, p, š, cp. § 59:

drego dragon.

blenk blank, blenkit blanket, kenke(r) (ME. cancren) to corrode, lenwidž language, plenk plank, renk rank.

bešfi bashful, fešn fashion, pešn passion, seš sash.

 \S 198. all has become oe in the combinations lk, lm, ll, cp. \S 62.

gooki (but galok § 326) left handed, boom balm, oominak almanac, oomond almand, bool ball.

§ 199. al in the combination ld has become ou, cp. § 64: skoud to scald.

The same sound also occurs in fout (ME. faute) fault.

§ 200. a has become o before a following n in: dons dance, ont aunt, trons trance, tšons chance, tšont chant.

§ 201. a has become e in: rediš radish.

§ 202. a has been retained where in the lit. language it has become o through the influence of the preceding w in: kwaleti quality, kwari stone-quarry, warend to warrant, walep (cp. Fr. galoper to curry, use rudely, Cotgr.) to beat, flog.

§ 203. ar in the combination r + consonant has become ee, which shows that ar in this combination was pronounced differently in Engl. and Fr. words in the ME. period; cp. § 61.

beebe(r) barber, beedž barge, beegn bargain, beete(r) to barter, deet to dart, eet art, skill, geed guard, geedn garden, geete(r) garter, keed card, keekes (Fr. carquasse, Cotgr.) body, carcase, kweet quart, kweete(r) quarter, peedn pardon, peesl parcel, peet part, peetne(r) partner, skeelet scarlet, tšeedž charge.

§ 204. Lit. Engl. ei (written a, ai (ay), ei) appears in the W. dial. as ee: beekn bacon, beel bale, beeli. (bumbeeli, cp. O. Fr. baili) bailiff, beet to abate, bleem blame, bree (ME. braiin, O. Fr. breier) to beat, pound, deendže(r) danger, deenti dainty, deet date, deevi affidavit, eebl able, eedž age, eem to aim, intend, eenšn ancient, feed fade, feel

to fail, feart to faint, fees face, feep faith, feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, fleem flame, geo gay, ingeedž to engage, greenz (pl.) malt which has been used in brewing beer, grees grace, greet grate, keedž cage, kees case, lees lace, meesn mason, neete(r) nature, pee pay, peedž page, peel pale, peen pain, peen pane of glass, peent paint, pees pace, peest (but pasti pasty) paste, pleen plain, plees place, pleet plate, pree (but pre-8e (1) pray thee) to pray, prest to prate, babble, presz to praise, reedž rage, reet rate, seef safe, seekrid sacred, seem (often called swainseem, Ancren Riwle seim, OE. seime adipe, Ps. lxii. 6, E. E. T. S. No. 92, from O. Fr. sain) lard, seent (but before names sant) saint, seev to save, skeelz scales, steebl stable, streendž strange, teebl table, teele(r), teelje(r) tailor, teest taste, tleem to claim, treel (Fr. trailler) to drag, treen train, tšeef to chafe, tšeeme(r) chamber, tšeemdž change, veen vein, west to wait.

Note.—contrary is kontréeri.

§ 205. Before a simple \mathbf{r} we have the same development as the lit. language: $peo(\mathbf{r})$ pair, $peo(\mathbf{r})$ to peel, $t\check{s}eo(\mathbf{r})$ chair.

θ.

§ 206. e (written e, ea) in the lit. language has generally remained in the W. dialect: bezl to embezzle, demek (from epidemic) potato disease, demekt diseased (of potatoes), det debt, dželes jealous, dželi jelly, e-seml to assemble, fend to provide for oneself, fent remnant of a piece of cloth, fezn pheasant, ges to guess, lete(r) letter, letis lettuce, mel (Fr. mail) mallet, mel (ME. mellen, medlen, O.Fr. medler) to meddle, mend to mend, meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, prentis apprentice, sens sense, ses assessment, tax, spekteklz

spectacles, treml to tremble, treze(r) treasure, vente(r) to venture, vesl vessel.

But fliem phlegm, siene senna.

§ 207. er has become ā before a following consonant: konsán concern, pāsn parson, sādžn sergeant, sāmen sermon, sāvnt servant, sāvis service, tlāk clerk, vāment vermin, vāniš varnish.

In the following two words we have a: arend (O.Fr. errant) notoriously bad, sare (rarely sav) to serve. On sare see Behrens, Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England, p. 91. ie in: ieb herb, and e in: tšeri cherry.

§ 208. e has become a before a following r in tarie(r) (ME. terrere) terrier dog, vari very.

But pie(r) pear.

§ 209. e has become i before a following nasal in: indžói to enjoy, indžn engine, ipgeedž to engage, ipk ink, lints lentils, simetri cemetery, šimi chemise.

tribl treble (in music) from contamination with triple, and pribl threefold from contamination with pri.

§ 210. e has become a in saleri celery, cp. sallary sub celery in N.E.D.

i.

§ 211. i has generally remained in the W. dialect: dine(r) dinner, dizml dismal, finis to finish, gimlek (this word has now almost gone out of use, its place being taken by gimlit) gimlet, gizn to choke, gizn (Fr. guisern, Cotgr. sub gesier) gizzard, konsiðe(r) to consider, limit limit, list list, list to enlist, live(r) to deliver, ministe(r) minister, mins mince, mistšif mischief, pidžn pigeon, pik pickaxe,

pinion opinion, piti pity, rivo(r) river, sipl single, sidoz scissors, skripto(r) scripture, tift (cp. ME. tiffen from O. Fr. tiffer to adorn) condition, state, order, tšimli chimney, twilt quilt.

§ 212. i has become e in: lenit linnet, rebit rivet, redžeste(r) to register, rens to rinse.

§ 213. i has become e in sperit spirit; and a in krakit cricket (game).

0.

§ 214. Lit. Engl. short o = W. dial. o: boni nice, pretty, džoli jolly, džosl to jostle, kole(r) collar, kotn cotton, lodž to lodge, mot, moti (French motte, Cotgr., edit. 1673) a mark at quoits, obstakl obstacle, oke-daik (Fr. oker Cotgr.) small stream of iron-water, one(r) honour, rok rock, poridž porridge, posnit (O. Fr. poçonet) saucepan, pot pot, profit profit, sode(r) solder.

§ 215. o has become u in: nuvl novel, nuvis novice.

§ 216. Lit. Engl. oi = W. dial. oi: boil to boil, džoi joy, džoint joint, e-noi to annoy, koit quoit, coit, loin loin, moist moist, moiste(r) moisture, noiz noise, oil oil, ointment ointment, oiste(r) oyster, point point, poizn poison, soil soil, ground, spoil to spoil, tšois choice, vois voice, voide(r) large clothes' basket.

§ 217. Lit. Engl. ou (written oa)=W. dial. o in: gol (only used in the game of lits en gēts § 177, O. Fr. gaul) goal, rost to roast.

§ 218. Lit. Engl. ou (written, o, oo, oa)=W. dial. ue in: bruetš brooch, kuetš coach, nuebl noble, nuetis notice, pueni pony, puest post, puezi nosegay, rueb robe, rueg rogue, tluek cloak.

§ 219. Lit. Engl. ou (written o, oa)=W. dial. oi in: broitš to broach, doit to dote, koit coat, loitš loach, tlois close, narrow, tloiz to close, toist to toast.

§ 220. Lit. Engl. ou (written o, oa, ou, ow) = W. dial. ou in: boul bowl, koul (O. Fr. coillir) to rake, moud mould, model, poutri poultry, poutš to poach, roul to roll, soudže(r) soldier.

But we have pultice.

Note.—The first element of the W. diphthong is not the o in not. See § 7.

§ 221. Lit. Engl. uw (written oo)=W. dial. ui: buit boot, fuil fool, gruin (ME. groin, O. Fr. groing) snout of a pig.

§ 222. Lit. Engl. ue (written oor) = W. dial. ue: pue(r) poor, pueli poorly, ill.

§ 223. Lit. Engl. long open ō sound (written or before a following consonant) = W. dial. uo in: fuodž forge, fuos force, kuod cord, puok pork, puošn portion, puoto(r) porter.

But we have foofit to forfeit, foom form, footn fortune, koono(r) corner, ooooo(r) order.

§ 224. ue occurs before single r in dlueri glory, stueri story. And e in ferin foreign.

§ 225. Lit. Engl. long open ō (written au, aw) = W. dial. oo in: doob (ME. daubin, O. Fr. dauber) to daub, smear, džoom (Fr. jaumbe, Cotgr.) the side post of a door or chimney piece, džoones jaundice, frood fraud, koose causeway, poo paw, pooz (O. Fr. poulser, posser) to kick, soos sauce.

But we have short o in be-kos, e-kos, kos because, fols false; in reference to a child, implying that it is shrewd and witty beyond its years.

u.

§ 226. Lit. Engl. p (written u, o, ou)=W. dial. u: bukit bucket, buldž to bulge, butn button, buzed (O. Fr. busart) butterfly, dlutn glutton, dubl double, duzn dozen, džudž judge, džust just, frunt front, gruml to grumble, gulit gullet, channel for water, gute(r) gutter, guzl to swallow greedily, krust crust, kruš to crush, kule(r) colour, kumfet comfort, kumpni company, kuntri country, kupl couple, kusted custard, kustm custom, kuve(r) to cover, kuzin, kuzn cousin, muni (a commoner word is bras) money, murril mongrel, musted mustard, mutn mutton, muzl muzzle, nume(r) number, plume(r) plumber, pulp pulp, rikuve(r) to recover, rubiš rubbish, sudn sudden, sufe(r) to suffer, sumen to summon, supe(r) supper, stuf stuff, trubl trouble, trunk trunk, tšuk to throw, pitch, tun tun, tutš to touch, uml humble, unien onion, upkl uncle.

But we have foisti fusty.

§ 227. Lit. Engl. u (written u, and mostly occurring after labials)=W. dial. u: bušl bushel, butše(r) butcher, bulit bullet, puli pulley, pulit pullet, puš to push, put to put.

But we have siuge(r) sugar, see § 310, 1; puilpit pulpit.

§ 228. Lit. Engl. ē (written ur, our before a following consonant)=W. dial. ē, see § 113 a: bēl (ME. burle) to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or cloth, distēb to disturb, džēni journey, fēniš to furnish, fēnite(r) furniture, kēn currant, nēs nurse, pēs purse, tēn to turn, tēnep turnip, ēt to hurt.

ai.

§ 229. Lit. Engl. ai (written i, ie, y)=W. dial. ai: ed-vais advice, ed-vaiz to advise, e-plai to apply, fain fine, frai to fry, kontráiv to contrive, krai cry, nais nice, pai pie, paint pint, prais price, praiz to lift with a lever, rais rice, sailm asylum, sain sign, saizez assizes, straiv to strive, tais to entice, trai to try, traifi trifle.

But tšiene china ware.

ai also occurs in: džais (O. Fr. giste) joist, paik to pick, select.

e-blīdž (pp. e-blītšt) to oblige, and leelek lilac, still remain to be explained.

§ 230. Lit. Engl. aio = W. dial. aio: dizaio(r) desire, kwaiot quiet, raiot riot, umpaio(r) umpire, vaiolot violet.

ij.

§ 231. Lit. Engl. ij (written ea, ei, e, ee, ie) appears in the W. dial. as ie in: biek beak, biest beast, but bies cows, disiet deceit, disiev to deceive, field feeble, fiet feat, fiest feast, fiete(r) feature, gries grease, iege(r) eager, iegl eagle, iekwl equal, iez ease, nies niece, niet neat, tidy, piel to appeal, pies peace, plied to plead, pliez to please, riel real, riezn reason, risiet receipt, recipe, risiev to receive, siekrit secret, sies to cease, siezn season, tie tea, triet treat, trietl treacle, tšiet to cheat, viel veal.

§ 232. Lit. Engl. ij = W. dial. ī in: bīf beef, o-grī to agree, grīf grief, pīp (pp. popt) to peep, pīs piece.

§ 233. Lit. Engl. $i\theta = W$. dial. $i\theta$ in : fies fierce, the (r) clear.

§ 234. Lit. Engl. ij W. dial. ei in: dein deun, preitš to preach.

ai in: bastail (Fr. bastille) workhouse, union.

ee in: konseet conceit.

i in: pil to peel, pilinz the peels of potatoes, etc.

e in: mezlz measles.

au.

§ 235. Lit. Engl. au (written ou, ow) appears in the W. dial as ā: āl to howl, āns ounce, bānti bounty, dāt doubt, e-kānt account, e-lā, lā to allow, e-mānt amount, frān to frown, gān gown, gāt gout, kānsl to counsel, kānt to count, kātš couch, krān crown, lāns an allowance of refreshment or money, mānt to mount, māt (Lat. mūtāre) to moult, pāðe(r) powder, rānd round, sānd sound, noise, stāt stout, tā-il (also tail) towel, trā-il trowel, trāns to beat, flog, vā vow.

au appears as ū in: trūzez trousers.

§ 236. Lit. Engl. au \bullet = W. dial. \bar{a}_{θ} : $\bar{a}_{\theta}(\mathbf{r})$ hour, $div\bar{a}_{\theta}(\mathbf{r})$ to devour, $fl\bar{a}_{\theta}(\mathbf{r})$ flower, flour, $p\bar{a}_{\theta}(\mathbf{r})$ power, $t\bar{a}_{\theta}(\mathbf{r})$ tower.

juw.

§ 237. Lit. Engl. juw (written eau, ue, u, ui, ew, iew) is iu in the W. dialect: biuti beauty, diu due, diuti duty, fluil fuel, flute(r) future, ius use, iuneti unity, iunien union, iusfl useful, iusles useless, iuz to use, miul mule, donkey, miuzik music, piu pew, pius puce colour, rifiuz to refuse, siut suit, stiupid stupid, viu view.

But we have ā in: kākume(r) cucumber.

juə.

 \S 238. Lit. Engl. jue (written ure)=W. dial. iue: kiue(r) cure, meniue(r) manure, piue(r) pure.

uw.

§ 239. Lit. Engl. uw (written ue, ui, u, and mostly occurring after 1, r, s) is in the W. dialect: bliu blue, bliuz (pl.) delirium tremens, fliu flue, fliut flute, soliut to salute.

friut fruit, griuil gruel, rikriut to recruit, riubub rhubarb, riul rule, riume(r) rumour, riuin ruin.

siu to sue, siuit suet.

uə.

§ 240. Lit. Engl. ue=W. dial. iue: siue(r) sure, siuelĭ surely, unsiue(r) uncertain.

CHAPTER V.

VOWELS IN UNACCENTED SYLLABLES.

§ 241. Diphthongs and short and long vowels in unaccented syllables have regularly been weakened to e, i, or the vowel has disappeared altogether. In the latter case, when an 1, m, n followed, it has become vocalic.

1. e.

 \S 242. α . In initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

befue(r) before, begin to begin, and similarly in all other words containing this prefix; fegetn (pp.) forgot, ebāt (also bāt) about, without, ebūn above, efied afraid, efued to afford, efue(r) before, egeet in action, at work, egien again, against, egrī to agree, egue ago, ekin akin, ekos (also kos) because, elaiv alive, eluen alone, emen among, enent opposite, enoi to annoy, eplai to apply, eseml to assemble, estied instead, ewee away, meniue(r) manure, seliut salute, te-moen to-morrow.

But we have edikéet to educate, ekuedinlái accordingly, kontréeri contrary, redžéste(r) to register, siuelĭ surely, spektéklz spectacles.

§ 243. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

basted bastard, baleks testiculi, bulek bullock, buzed butterfly, dželes jealous, džoenes jaundice, figwet figwort, galep to gallop, gimlek gimlet, kēsmes Christmas, kolep slice of bacon, koese causeway, kubed cupboard, kusted custard, lavrek lark, leelek lilac, loped clotted, covered with dirt, mare to match a pattern, musted mustard, otšed orchard, omest almost, oles always, sakles silly, foolish, sare to serve, siene senna, simetri cemetery, siðez scissors, spitek spigot, šeped shepherd, sterep stirrup, tēnep turnip, ulet owl, unded hundred, vale value, winde window.

are arrow, bare barrow, bore to borrow, fale fallow, fole to follow, fere furrow, jare yarrow, jole yellow, mare marrow, mede meadow, nare narrow, ole hollow, pile pillow, sale sallow, sore sorrow, spare sparrow, swole to swallow, swole swallow, šade shadow, šale shallow, tale tallow, wide widow, wile willow.

ame(r) hammer, blede(r) bladder, bute(r) butter, fade(r) father, gane(r) gander, gede(r) to gather, kerke(r) to rust, corrode, neebe(r) neighbour, oede(r) either, pleeste(r) plaster, skute(r) to spill, slume(r) slumber, sude(r) to shudder, tarie(r) terrier, pune(r) thunder, unsine(r) uncertain, ure(r) hunger, wote(r) water.

fénite(r) furniture, fiute(r) future, moiste(r) moisture, neete(r) nature, paste(r) pasture, pikte(r) picture.

meze(r) measure, pleze(r) pleasure, treze(r) treasure.

But we have 6eminak almanac, bástail union, work-house, 6bstakl obstacle, ríubub rhubarb.

In compounds, some of which have been given above: beekes bakehouse, koiles coalhouse, wākes union, workhouse, wešes washhouse, alide holiday, jestede yesterday, wāte (lit. work-day) week-day, sunde Sunday, and similarly

for the other days of the week, nek-lep neck cloth, handkerchief, baked backward, fored forward, tādz towards, forediš rather forward, oeked awkward, oepep halfpenny worth, penep pennyworth, sumet something, anything.

2. i.

 \S 244. a. In initial syllables followed by the principal accent :

indžoi to enjoy, ingeedž to engage, disiet deceit, disiev to deceive, ministe(r) minister.

 \S 245. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

āvis(t) harvest, blenkit blanket, bulit bullet, damidž damage, ienis(t) earnest, inif (sing.) enough, pl. iniu, ferin foreign, fotnit fortnight, gulit water channel, karit carrot, lenit linnet, letis lettuce, olin holly, posnit saucepan, puilpit pulpit, pūltis poultice, salit salad, sperit spirit, rebit rivet, rediš radish.

bāli barley, beeli bailiff, beli belly, beri berry, beri to bury, bodi body, but nuebdi nobody, boni nice, pretty, dizi dizzy, emti empty, evi heavy, eri hurry, row, disturbance, kani knowing, intelligent, skilful, nimble, leedi lady, meri merry, moni many, nevi nephew, oepni halfpenny, but oepeh halfpenny worth, oni any, peni penny, but peneh pennyworth, popi poppy, pratli gently, softly, rudi ruddy, sili silly, slipi slippery, sori sorry, snikit a small passage, stati statue, šabi shabby, šimi chemise, tali to agree, pēti thirty, ueli holy, uenli lonely, vali valley, vari very, weri to worry.

fādin farthing, gezlin gosling, īmin evening, ipin a cloth placed round the hips of children, kunin cunning, skaftin shafting, sperinz the banns of marriage, swilinz thin liquid

food for pigs, šilin shilling, topin the front part of the hair of the head, runin running, and similarly in all present participles and words ending in the lit. language in -ing.

3. Loss of Vowel or Syllable.

§ 246. a. Initial syllables followed by the principal accent:

bāt without, beet to abate, kros across, levm eleven, pinien opinion, prentis apprentice, sailm asylum.

bezl to embezzle, bake tobacco, kos because, lāns allowance, list to enlist, live(r) deliver, lotments allotments, piel to appeal, saieti society, saizez assizes, ses to assess, tax, tais to entice, twīn between, vantidž advantage.

deevi affidavit, demek (lit. epidemic) potato disease.

§ 247. b. In syllables preceded by the principal accent:

aktli actually, dif-rnt different, džen-rl general, kumpni company, nat-rl, nat-re-bl natural, nuebdi nobody, navi (lit. navigation?) canal, oepep halfpenny worth, penep pennyworth, reg-le(r) regular, sumdi somebody.

Vocalic 1:

anl handle, apl apple, ginl a long narrow uncovered passage, gruml to grumble, kanl candle, ketl kettle, kredl cradle, kudl to embrace, sinl single, smitl to infect, spinl spindle, piml thimble, uml humble.

Vocalic m:

bodm bottom, buism bosom, evm heaven, fadm fathom, fipms five pence, kustm custom, luensm lonely, wizdm wisdom, wise, wiepm weapon.

Vocalic n:

ādn to harden, brimstn brimstone, eenšn uncient, fasn to

fasten, fešn fashion, frozn frozen, indžn engine, iplnd England, fotn (pp.) fought, foetn fortune, mutn mutton, pidžn pigeon, ratn rat, sāvnt servant, seldn seldom, slidn (pp.) slid, tšozn chosen, þāzn thousand.

Vocalic p:

beegn bargain, beekn bacon, brokn broken, dokn dock, drukn drunk, drunken, rekn to reckon, spokn spoken, sukn sunk, tuekn token, ugn hip, wegn wagon, wokn to waken.

Svarabhakti.

§ 248. A vowel has been developed between 1, r, and a following consonant in: galek (O. Fr. gale) left hand, sterek (OE. stire, also styric) heifer, tšerep (ME. chirpen) to chirp.

Weak Forms and Particles.

§ 249. The following is a fairly complete list, arranged alphabetically, of words which have weak forms caused by the sentence accent. Any other unaccented forms not given here will be found under the headings of pronouns, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, and prepositions.

The auxiliary verb diu is never used in asking questions, except when it begins the sentence: dije (deje) pink il (el) diut? do you think he will do it? but wile diut, pink je? will he do it, do you think? The auxiliary verb have (ev, e; ev, e) is often omitted entirely, or perhaps rather has disappeared through assimilation; thus a dunt I have done it, we funt we have found it; here fun is the pp. and not the pret., we found it is we fant.

a=I. Chiefly used in direct assertions: a fan em I found them.

abed yes but: abed da men ger up suin yes but thou must get up soon.

am, aim, im I am. aim, am are used in principal and im in subordinate sentences: aim or am nuen bān to stop hio(r) I am not going to stop here. if im wīl inif if I am well enough.

bi=1. be: wil do bi wi om? will they be with them?

=2. by: bi nā by now.

bin been.

bed but.

-d=I. had: δed they had, ad I had.

= 2. would, wouldst: Sad e to diut thou wouldst have to do it.

de, di do: deje or dije þink el kum? do you think he will come?

duz, dus (voiceless before the t) does, dost: pa duz thou dost, but dus to? dost thou?

e, ev have: wis et we shall have it, but wis ev em we shall have them.

ez, es hast, has: cp. duz, dus.

θ=1. a: θ boni bān a pretty child.

= 2. he (in subordinate sentences and interrogatively, in other cases it is $\check{\mathbf{1}}$).

=3. her (before consonants): θ fað θ (r) her father.

=4. have (weakest form): ast e dunt if id ed e tšons
I should have done it, if I had had a chance.

=5. on: e &i rig on thy back.

=6. of (may be used before a vowel or a consonant, ev only before vowels):

e pund e or ev aplz a pound of apples.

Note.—Through e being also the unaccented form of on, it often happens that on is used where we should expect ev, as toef on em the half of them.

ed = I. had.

= 2. would: it ed or ted tak e lot it would take a lot. em or rather m (vocalic) them: sam em up pick them up. en an: en apl an apple.

en or rather n (vocalic)=

1. and: Doed en Eels George and Alice.

2. one: it wer e guid en it was a good one.

 $\Theta(\mathbf{r}) = \mathbf{I}$. or.

 $= 2. \alpha re.$

 $ext{ot} = 1$. at. $ext{ot}$ uem at home.

- = 2. that (cj.): a sī et im rep I see that I am wrong.
- = 3. who, whom (rel.): im et sed sue he who said so, dem et we soe dan trued those whom we saw down the road.
- ev = 1. have (weakest form before vowels): To med ev ed it bi nā they might have had it by now.
 - = 2. of (before vowels): toef ev e keek the half of a tea-cake.
- ez = 1. us: giv ez e tūþri give us a few (lit. two or three).
 - = 2. he has: wen ez wešt isen when he has washed himself.
 - = 3. he is: wol ez ban until he is going.

 $=4. \ as.$

 $fo(\mathbf{r})$ for.

fre from.

- i=1. in: i tas in the house.
- = 2. I (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, see a): sali et? shall I have it? if i ger it if I get it.
- = 3. he (in direct assertions): i sez he says. into into.

iz his, but is before voiceless sounds: a mer iz muðe(r) 1 met his mother, but is faðe(r) his father.

je=1. ye, you.

=2. your (before consonants).

= 3. you are (before consonants) je bān, āje? you are going, are you?

jet = 1. yet.

= 2. you it: al sel jet I will sell you it.

ked could.

kp (vocalic p) can: Sa kp see wot to laiks thou canst say what thou likest.

1 will: al I'll, wil we will, etc.

me = 1. me gi(v) me e feu give me a few.

= 2. may: ame wek wol i drop for out ta keez

I may work until I drop for anything thou
carest.

med might.

men or rather mn (with vocalic n)

= 1. must: a men gue I must go.

= 2. man : diu it, mon do it, man.

mi my.

ne(r) = 1. nor.

=2. than (after a comparative).

net, nt (the form net is seldom used. The usual form is nt) not.

s us (after voiceless consonant): lets ev em let us have them.

s, sl: dasl, das et thou shalt have it.

sānt shall not.

sant saint (before proper names).

80 80.

sed, st should, shouldst: Sa sed or Sast e dunt thou shouldest have done it.

še she (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases šŭ).

t=1. the: tman the man.

=2. it: len met lend me it.

= 3. art: Sat e fuil thou art a fool.

ta, to thou (in subordinate and interrogative sentences, in other cases $\delta \tilde{a}$).

te, tev (before vowels) to.

To there: Toz there is, there has, there are.

 $\delta \theta = I$. thee: a spak to $\delta \theta$ I spoke to thee.

= 2. they: mun to stop? must they stop?

= 3. they (are): To nuon so rits they are not so rich.

=4. they (have): wen to funt when they have found it.

=5. their (before consonants).

di thy.

v have: wiv sint we have seen it.

wa why. The unaccented form of wai, cp. a beside ai I, wol beside wail while, until. It is always used when speaking in an encouraging manner to a person: wa lad, to men trai why lad, thou must try.

we = 1. we: sal we gue? shall we go?

= 2. our (before consonants) we face buits our father's boots, but we see wer out we saw our aunt.

=3. we (are): we ban to d'len we are going to the Glen.

=4. was, were: a we liukin foje I was looking for you. wed would.

wi = 1. with.

= 2. we (in direct assertions).

=3. wilt: wite wilt thou.

wol until, unaccented form of wail (noun) while.

z=1. is: iz he is.

= 2. has, hast: Saz thou hast, iz he has.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CONSONANTS.

The Semi-vowels.

w.

a. Initially.

§ 250. OE. initial w has remained before vowels: waip to wipe, weed to wade, wee(r) to spend money, wāk work, wide(r) to hurl, throw, woef insipid, wote(r) water.

It also appears as w in words of Norse origin: weeve(r) to waver, winde window, wik quick, alive, wip wing, wont want.

In words of French origin we have w in some words and v in others, just as in the lit. language: warend to warrant, weedž wage, weet to wait, walep to beat, flog, vari very, viel veal, vois voice, voiče(r) a large clothes' basket.

It has disappeared in the combination wr: rait to write, rep wrong. Examples for wl- are wanting.

It has also generally remained in the OE. combinations hw, dw, pw, tw, sw, as wot what, wil wheel, dwinl to dwindle, dwāf dwarf, witl (ME. pwitel) large carving knife, wer (OE. pwang) thong, wak to beat, flog, twais twice, twot pudendum fem., swiet to sweat, sweep the handle of a machine.

kw mostly occurs in French words: kweet quart, kwari quarry, kwaleti quality.

Initial w has disappeared in the weak forms of wil will, wod would, as al gue I will go, id diut, if e kud he would do it, if he could.

w has also disappeared in: kil to kill, kud cud, sued sword, sitš such, sump a puddle or dirty pool of water. tū two, ue who.

b. Medially.

Medial w + final vowel have become e after consonants: swole (OE. swalwe) swallow, spare (OE. spearwa) sparrow, jare yarrow, wide (OE. widwe) widow, widower.

aw > oe: tloe (OE. clawu) claw, § 63.

 $\bar{a}w > oo$: bloe to blow, noe to know, sloe slow, snoe snow, § 123.

eow, ew > eu: eu (OE. eowu) ewe, streu (OE. strewian) to strew, § 85.

ēaw > eu: deu (OE. dēaw) dew, feu few, eu (OE. hēawan) to hew, § 180.

ēow > iu, eu : triu true, riu to rue, briu to brew eu yew, seu to sew, § 190.

 $\overline{\mathbf{i}}\mathbf{w} > \overline{\mathbf{i}}\mathbf{u}$: spiu to spew, § 159.

ōw > ou: dlou to glow, grou to grow, flou to flow, § 166.

§ 251. w has disappeared in words compounded with ward: bakedz backwards, fored forward, oeked awkward, tādz towards, § 243; as also in those compounded with worth: oepep halfpenny worth, penep pennyworth, sikspenep sixpenny worth, etc.

It has also disappeared in: midif midwife, oles always, sumet (et may here however be the rel. pr.) something, anything, anse(r) answer, grunsil groundsel.

j.

§ 252. OE. initial j, mostly written g, has had the same development as in lit. Engl.: jĭ, je ye, you, jie(r) year, jon yon, juek yoke, jun young.

§ 253. French ü, which has become juw in lit. Engl., appears in the W. dial. as a falling diphthong initially, medially, and finally: ius use, iuneti unity, flute(r) future, viu view, § 237.

The Liquids.

1.

§ 254. 1 has generally remained unchanged: lap to wrap up, lat late, lig to lie down, loin lane, lium loom.

boold (ME. balled) bald, molt malt, fild field, mild mild, wild wild, bild to build, flik flitch of bacon, jole yellow, tšelte(r) to clot, coagulate (of blood), twilt quilt, nozl to beat, thrash, blob bubble, galesez braces.

džoul to knock, strike, kāl to frown, foel to fall, koil coal, teel tale, swiel to gutter (of a candle).

§ 255. at has become on in the combinations 1f, OE. 1h, 1k, 1m, 1l, 1v. For examples see §§ 62, 198. To these add: omest almost, orminak almanac, ormend almond.

al has become ou before a following d. For examples see §§ 64, 199.

ol has become ou before a following consonant. For examples see §§ 103, 220.

§ 256. I has also disappeared before a following consonant in: witš (OE. hwele) which, sitš (OE. swele) such, būk bulk, stūp (ME. stolpe) a post.

It has also disappeared in: wod, wed, -d (§ 397) would,

sud, sed, st (§ 391) should, sant shall not, s (§ 391) shall, wite? (§ 397) wilt thou? wient will not.

In fout (ME. faute, Fr. faute) fault, māt (cp. Lat. mūtāre) to moult, there probably never was an 1 in the dialect forms.

§ 257. Consonantal 1, when it came to stand finally, has become vocalic after consonants: adl to earn, kitl to tickle, nibl to nibble, ridl sieve, satl to settle. For further examples see \S 247 b.

r.

§ 258. r, which is a gently (not strongly as in Scotch) trilled sound, has only remained intact before a following vowel:

raiv to tear, reit right, ram to thrust, press, rīzd rancid (of bacon), brip to bring, brek to break, beri to bury, fere furrow, sore sorrow, sare to serve, vari very.

r has probably been lost in aim (OE. hrīm?) hoarfrost.

§ 259. Before a following consonant it has entirely disappeared: ban (§ 61) child, bied (§ 68) beard, wak (§ 74) work, bāk (\S 90) birch, boen (\S 104, 1) born, bued (\S 104, 2) board, dest (§ 113, 1) durst, be (§ 120, 1) birth, aien (§ 157) iron, dālin (§ 189) darling, kweet (§ 203) quart, sāvnt $(\S 207)$ servant, oe $\mathfrak{Fo}(\mathbf{r})$ $(\S 223)$ order, $k\bar{e}n$ $(\S 228)$ currant, faðe(r) father, pl. faðez, swie(r) to swear, but i swiez he swears.

Note.—The above list contains one example only of the various vowels which have been influenced through the absorption of the r; for full lists of examples, see the paragraphs enclosed in parentheses.

§ 260. r, which has come to stand finally in the modern dialect, is still slightly trilled, but not so strongly as before a following vowel. This is always the case when the word containing it is used alone, or stands at the end of a sentence. In these positions it is never weakened into a mere voiced glide as in lit. Engl. fear, nor does it dis-

appear altogether as in lit. Engl. far. We thus make a distinction between pee pay, and pee(r) pair, $k\bar{a}$ cow, and $k\bar{a}e(r)$ to cower.

THE CONSONANTS.

r disappears, of course, altogether in the sentence when the next word begins with a consonant: aje bān? are you going? wi we leekin we were playing.

Examples of final r are: wāə(r) worse, dluə(r) to stare hard, smuə(r) to smother, biə(r) to bear, piə(r) pear.

§ 261. In addition to the examples in which r has undergone metathesis in the lit. language as, bād bird, bān to burn, brīt bright, frīt fright, oos horse, pād third, we have brust to burst, gān to grin, gās (also OE. gærs) grass, gāsl gristle, gāt great, kāsmes Christmas, kāsn to christen.

§ 262. r has disappeared in pim-ruez primrose.

The Nasals.

m.

§ 263. m has generally remained unchanged: muml to mumble, muin moon, mistl cow-house, mizl to drizzle (of rain), mun must, mud crowded, crammed.

gami lame, kākumə(r) cucumber, niml nimble, treml to tremble, tšeemə(r) chamber, tuml to tumble, uml humble.

brim to put the boar to the sow, gam to gamble krum crumb, rām room, sam up to pick up.

§ 264. m has become vocalic after consonants: bodm bottom, fadm fathom, film film, kindm kingdom. m is also vocalic in em (=m) them.

n.

- § 265. Initial n has remained unchanged: nate(r) to gnaw, nibble, nati neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people), navicanal, nīt night, nie(r) kidney, noilz (pl.) the short hairs taken out of wool by the combing machine.
- § 266. When n has remained medial in the W. dial., it has generally undergone no change: dwinl to dwindle, kanl candle, sind to rinse, wash out, spinl spindle, pune(r) thunder.
- § 267. Medial n has disappeared before s in unaccented syllables without compensation lengthening: estied instead, Robinson, Adkisn Atkinson.
- § 268. n has remained when it has come to stand finally after vowels or was already final in OE.: ain (ME. hīne) hind, bin (OE. binnan) within, bleen blain, boil, gruin a pig's snout, don to put on one's clothes, len (OE. lēnan) to lend, nuin noon, olin holly, speen (OE. spanan) to wean.
- § 269. n has become vocalic after dentals and sibilants: eenšn ancient, fešn fashion, fezn pheasant, frozn frozen, miln (OE. myln) mill, ratn (O. Fr. raton) rat, seldn (OE. seldon) seldom. For other examples see § 247 b.
- § 270. n has become vocalic m after labials by assimilation:
- apm (lit. happen) perhaps, fipms fivepence, propose three pence, etc., opm open, wiopm weapon. For further examples see § 247 b.

evm even, īmin evening, sevm seven, uvm oven, wovm woven.

 \S 271. n has become vocalic p after gutturals: beegp bargain, ugp hip, wegp wagon.

brokn broken, buakn (ME. bolkin) to retch, belch, kn (weak form of kan can, akn diut I can do it), spokn spoken, stākn to stiffen, wokn to waken.

§ 272. n generally disappears in \bullet on, i in. It has also disappeared in $\bullet \bullet p \bullet p \ halfpenny \ worth$. It has also disappeared by assimilation in amet am not.

n.

§ 273. The guttural p, written n in OE., only occurred before the gutturals g and c.

It has generally remained in accented syllables in the W. dialect: bip (O. Icel. bingr heap) bin, brip to bring, dripk to drink, ip (ME. hengen) to hang, lip (O. Icel. lyng) heather, tepz tongs, pip thing, pipk to think, were thong.

fine(r) finger, never finge(r) as in lit. Engl., inliš English, minl to mingle, une(r) hunger, sinl single.

Note.—kindm (OE. cynedom) but lit. Engl. kingdom, through association with king.

§ 274. p has disappeared through assimilation before the following kp in the pp. of verbs ending in pk: drukp drunk, drunken, sukp sunk, slukp slunk, šrukp shrunk. But see § 368.

§ 275. p has become n before the following dental in: lenp length, strenp strength.

§ 276. p has regularly become n in unaccented syllables: fādin farthing, gezlin gosling, īmin evening, iezinz the eaves of a building, midin (ME. midding) dunghill, runin running, and similarly in all present participles.

§ 277. Palatal p, written n in OE., only occurred before the palatal forms of g and c.

In the W. dial. it has become dental n as in lit. Engl.: drenš (OE. drencan) to drench, sinž (OE. sengan) to singe.

The Labials.

p.

§ 278. p has remained in all positions:

pei pea, pimruəz primrose, piek perch, pāk a kind of blain, poem palm, poez (O. Fr. poulser) to kick, poutri poultry, prog to collect wood for the bonfire on the fifth of November, preet to prate, babble, put to put.

lopste(r) (OE. loppestre) lobster, speed spade, speen to wean.

dolep lump of dirt, draip to drip, elp to help, filep to beat, flog, kep to catch (a ball), kraps the renderings of lard, lop flea, noep (ME. nolpen) to hit on the head.

§ 279. Assimilation has taken place as in lit. Engl. in emti (ME. empti, but OE. æmet(t)ig) empty, kubed cupboard.

b.

§ 280. The voiced explosive b has generally remained in the W. dialect:

ban child, bef (ME. beffin) to cough, bek beck, ben (O. Icel. banga to hammer), to throw, hit violently, bid to invite to a funeral, boged ghost, brig bridge, bun bound.

bleb blister, bluðə(r) to weep, generally used in the phrase tə bluðə(r) ən ruə(r) lit. to blubber and roar, gab (cp. O. N. gabba) impudence, kubəd cupboard, neb beak, nub to nudge, nuəbdi nobody, web web.

§ 281. b has disappeared after m: kuem comb, lam lamb, tlim to climb, wuem womb. Also in sumdi some-body.

§ 282. b never occurs between m—1 or m—r, as in lit. Engl.: eseml to assemble, fuml to fumble, muml to mumble, niml nimble, raml to ramble, treml to tremble, tuml to tumble, piml thimble, uml humble.

kākumə(r) cucumber, numə(r) number, slumə(r) slumber, tšeəmə(r) chamber.

f.

- § 283. OE. f was used to re resent both the voiceless (= Mod. Engl. f) and the voiced (= Mod. Engl. v) spirant.
- 1. Initially it was voiceless and corresponds to Germanic f.
- 2. Medially it was voiced, except in the combinations ff, ft, fs. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 192.
- 3. Finally it was probably voiceless in the historic period even when it corresponded to Germanic **b**. But when OE. **f** came to stand medially through being followed by a case, or personal ending, etc., it was voiced, thus wif wife, gen. wifes, pret. sing. geaf I, he gave, pl. geafon. In this case the W. dial., like lit. Engl., has sometimes generalized the one form, sometimes the other. We shall here treat the sounds in the above order.
- I. faðo(r) father, feu few, flee to frighten, flumeks to confound, cheat, foil foul, foud fold, fouk folk, fout fault, freem to make a start, fudl to confuse, fuzi soft, spongy.
- 2. eft haft, gift gift, rift to belch, eructate, sift to sift, weft weft, kuf cuff.

delv to delve, daiv to dive, draiv to drive, duv dove, evm heaven, ivo(r) ever, kāv to carve, kuov cove, livo(r) liver, neiv (O. Icel. knefi) fist, nivo(r) never, raiv (O. Icel. rīfa to break) to tear, siv sieve, stāv to starve, stuov stove, šeov to shave, šuv to shove, þraiv to thrive, weiv to weave.

ev, ev, e have, and liv to live are, of course, not directly developed from OE. habban, libban but from the forms without gemination, as hafað he has, hæfde he had, liofað he lives, lifde he lived.

It has disappeared as in lit. Engl. in such words as: ez hast, has, elte(r) (OE. healfter) halter, enent opposite, ied head, kroel to crawl, oek hawk, leedi lady, loed lord, wimin women, wumen woman.

It has also disappeared in: əbūn above, īmin evening, steim (ME. stefnen, OE. ge-stefnian and a stemnian to give voice for, appoint) to bespeak a thing, šūl shovel, gīn given, ouə(r) beside ovə(r) over, niə(r) beside nivə(r) never, and generally also in the present gi, pret. ga and e, ə have, when the next word begins with a consonant.

The voiced spirant has become **b** in **rebit** rivet, if the dial. word is etymologically the same as the lit. Engl. word.

3. delf stone quarry, kaf chaff, oof half, ruif roof, tof turf, bif thief, uif hoof, waif wife.

aiv hive, faiv five, greev grave, twelv twelve.

f has disappeared in: oəpni halfpenny, ə of, sel, sen self.

§ 284. to to appears as tov when the next word begins with a vowel: tov o man to a man.

The Dentals.

t.

§ 285. Initial t has remained: taid feast-time, teem tame, temz (ME. temse) hop-sieve, teu (OE. tēawian) to work zealously, toe a marble of any kind, toidi small, little, trolep a dirty, untidy person, tul (O. Icel. til) to.

§ 286. Medial t has mostly remained unchanged:

antm (OE. antefn) anthem, getn got, nati neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people), ratn rat, tluste(r) cluster.

It has become d in bodm bottom, praid pride. It has become r in porests potutoes, has undergone metathesis in witek wicket, and disappeared before the b in nobed (lit. not but) only.

§ 287. t is dropped between s and a following 1 or n in: busl bustle, bruslz bristles, gēsl gristle, kasl castle, rasl to wrestle, prosl thrush, wisl whistle, dēsnt durst not; but mistl (O. Icel. mjalta-sel shed for milking) cow-house.

brusn (pp.) burst, fasn to fasten, lish to listen, oue-kesn overcast, gloomy (of the sky), prusn (pp.) thrust.

ts > ss > s in wisndə Whitsuntide. Whitsunday is wisndə sundə.

§ 288. The t in French words which has become tš in lit. Engl. through the influence of the following ü has remained in the W. dialect:

fiete(r) feature, fēnite(r) furniture, fiute(r) future, foetn fortune, kriete(r) creature, moiste(r) moisture, neete(r) nature, natrel natural, paste(r) pasture, pikte(r) picture, vente(r) to venture.

§ 289. When t came to stand finally in the W. dial., or was final already in OE., it has generally remained:

fift (OE. fīfta) fifth, sikst sixth, toist toast, twelft twelfth. bāt without, feit to fight, gēt great, goit (ME. gote) water channel, mīt to meet, out holt, slāt to bedabble, suit soot.

bit bit, fat fat, it it, kot staples of wool tightly entangled together, lat (OE. lætt) lath, lat late, mat mat, net net, wet wet.

§ 290. The t in all verbal forms ending in t preceded by a short vowel, appears as r when the next word begins with a vowel. We regularly say: amīt im ivri deo I meet

him every day; but amer im ivri dee I met him every day. Similarly with get me wun get me one, ger up get up, gar got, ir to hit, ler to let, pur to put, sar sat, ser to set, sir to sit, sur to shut, etc. Also in all the present participles, as gerin getting.

Note.—This phenomenon is widely spread in Mod. English dialects. See EEPr. vol. v. p. 420.

The same is also the case with the pronoun wot what: wotste dun? what hast thou done? but wor iz it? what is it?

- § 291. t has become d in: abod yes but, bod but, prād proud, buzed (O. Fr. busart), butterfly, Adkisn Atkinson, warend to warrant.
- § 292. It has been dropped in k\(\bar{\text{s}}\)n currant, s\(\bar{\text{s}}\)d\(\bar{\text{z}}\)n sergeant, d\(\bar{\text{z}}\)ais (O. Fr. giste) joist. The older generation also say omes almost, \(\bar{\text{a}}\)vis harvest, bies (lit. beast) cow, cows.
- § 293. A t is never pronounced in eenšn (Fr. ancien) ancient, fezn (O. Fr. faisan) pheasant, tairen tyrant.
 - § 294. t is excrescent in vament vermin.

d.

- § 295. Initial d has remained: daiv to dive, deu dew, dī to die, died dead, dof to undress, don to dress, dreet to drawl.
- § 296. Medial d has also generally remained unchanged:
- fidl fiddle, inde(r) to hinder, midin (ME. midding, Dan. mögdynge) dunghill, midl middle, nīdl needle, ridn riden, wide widow, sadl saddle, redi ready.
 - § 297. Intervocalic d followed by r in the next syllable

has become \eth : ble \eth e(\mathbf{r}) bladder, blu \eth e(\mathbf{r}) to cry, weep, di \eth e(\mathbf{r}) (ME. diderin) to shiver, fa \eth e(\mathbf{r}) father, fo \eth e(\mathbf{r}) fodder, ge \eth e(\mathbf{r}) to gather, tə-ge \eth e(\mathbf{r}) together, i \eth e(\mathbf{r}) hither, konsi \eth e(\mathbf{r}) to consider, la \eth e(\mathbf{r}) ladder, moi \eth e(\mathbf{r}) to ponder, be anxious about a thing, mu \eth e(\mathbf{r}) mother, pa \eth e(\mathbf{r}) powder, su \eth e(\mathbf{r}) to shudder, tlu \eth e(\mathbf{r}) to get closely together, u \eth e(\mathbf{r}) udder, voi \eth e(\mathbf{r}) (O. Fr. voider to void) a large clothes' basket, we \eth e(\mathbf{r}) weather.

Note.—The words thither and whither are not used in the dialect.

The law also holds good when an 1 or r has disappeared before the d: sode(r) solder, meder, oede(r) to order.

Note.—The \eth in $m\bar{e}\eth e(r)$ is probably not the p in OE. myrpran, but rp became rd (§ 306, 2) and then \eth by the above law.

§ 298. d never occurs between n—l, n—r, as in lit. English:

anl handle, dwinl to dwindle, kanl candle, kinlin fire-wood, spinl spindle.

gane(r) gander, pune(r) thunder.

- § 299. d has disappeared in ansem handsome, anfl handful, grunsil groundsel, gran-faðe(r), gram-faðe(r) grandfather, lanloed landlord, unded hundred, but undet (by assimilation of dt) hundredth.
- § 300. OE. final d and the medial d which has come to stand finally in the W. dial. have generally remained: bid to invite to a funeral, find to find, grund ground, od to hold, oud old, pund pound, roid a clearing (of a wood), sind to rinse, wash out, wund a wound, blier-id blear-eyed.
- § 301. d has disappeared after n in: bran (OE. brand) niu quite new, on and, pazn thousand, uzbn husband,

and also in the pret. and pp. of the verbs bind to bind, find to find, wind to wind, thus: ban, bun; fan, fun; wan, wun.

d has also been dropped in skaft scaffold, skaftin scaffolding.

§ 302. Final ndz has become nz: anz hands, frenz friends, senz sends, grunz (lit. grounds) sediment. þāzn and uzbn may accordingly be new formations from the plural forms.

§ 303. A d is never pronounced in ain (ME. hīne) hind, bān (O. Icel. būenn) going, as wie to bān? where art thou going?, len (OE. lænan) to lend.

§ 304. d is excrescent in arend (ME. aranie, O. Fr. araigne) spider, drand to drown.

§ 305. d has become t in wātə (lit. work-day), week-day, wēsit worsted, st the weak form of sud should. In be-int behind, the t is probably due to the t in frunt front; for similar examples see Paul-Braune's Beiträge, xiii. p. 590. In the phrase iust to wod or wod to be wont or willing, the t is due to assimilation with to: Sa iust to wod diu o bit o wāk thou wast formerly wont to do a bit of work.

þ.

§ 306. OE. p, also written \mathfrak{F} , was a voiceless spirant like the th in lit. Engl. thin, initially, finally as also medially except probably between voiced sounds. Between voiced sounds it was probably voiced like the th in lit. Engl. breathe. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 201.

We shall here adopt the following order: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound or its further development has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When it has become final in

the W. dialect. In this case two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced sound. Cp. § 283, 3.

Fifty years ago f for p and v for v were quite general throughout the Township of Idle, but they have now practically disappeared except as an individualism. When I was a boy p and v were regularly used among the younger Windhill people, but f and v were still generally used in Thackley and Idle, which are only about a mile distant from W. I well remember how we used to twit the Thackley and Idle people about their pronunciation of these sounds: fakle Thackley, fink think, fed third, leav barn, smivi smithy, etc.

1. p has remained voiceless except in pronouns and the adverbs derived from them:

pak thatch, pink to think, poil to give ungrudgingly, praiv to thrive, priep (OE. prēapian to rebuke) to contradict, dispute.

In the pronouns and the adverbs derived from them there originally existed double forms: the stressed forms with p and the unstressed forms with b. The W. dial., like lit. Engl., has generalised the latter, which are now used both as the stressed and unstressed forms. See the Chapter on the pronouns:

The state of the s

The def. art. is generally t and is attached to the following word, thus tman the man, toudn the old one, thoilz the coals. We make a clear distinction between toobl table and t'toobl the table, eit eight and eit' eighth, the former is the ordinary Engl. t and the latter is a suspended t. \eth has

become t in the nom. of the second pers. sing. of the pers. pronoun when used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences (§ 350): es-te? hast thou? sal-te? shalt thou? wite? wilt thou? kante diut? canst thou do it? pa kp gue wen tet redi thou canst go when thou art ready.

p has disappeared before w in: wak to beat severely, see Skeat, Et. Dict., witl (ME. pwitel) large carving knife, wer (OE. pwang) thong.

Occasionally the $\mathfrak p$ is omitted in the pres. tense of $\mathfrak pink$, as a $\mathfrak ink$ I think.

2. Between vowels we have δ : fe $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$) feather, la $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$ (r) foam, froth, le $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$ (r) leather, rea $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$ (r) rather, smi $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$ i smithy, we $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$ (OE. we $\delta_{\mathbf{r}}$) the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before.

It has become d medially after r in: bodn burden, fadin farthing, efued to afford.

It has also become d in: fadm fathom, snodn to make smooth, snod (O. Icel. snodenn smooth (of hair), bald) smooth, even.

ð has disappeared in mook (O. Icel. maðkr) maggot, and besk (O. Icel. baðask) to bask.

3. bab bath, dieb death, frop froth, gep girth, ielb health, pab path, smip smith, swap (O. Icel. swörör) the skin of bacon, web worth.

brieð to breathe, buið booth, leeð (O. Icel. hlaða) barn, saið scythe, smuið smooth.

§ 307. It has disappeared before the s, z in muns months, tluez clothes. And also in wi with.

§ 308. The d in beed to bathe has probably been influenced by weed to wade.

§ 309. The ordinal numerals, except seknd second, pād third, all end in t. Regular forms are fāst (OE. fyresta),

first, fift (OE. fīfta) fifth, sikst (OE. siexta) sixth, twelft (OE. twelfta) twelfth, after the analogy of which have been formed fouet (OE. fēowerða) fourth, naint ninth, tent tenth, etc.

Sibilants.

S.

§ 310. Initially and finally as also medially (except between voiced sounds) OE. s was a voiceless spirant like the s in Mod. English sin. Medially between voiced sounds it was possibly voiced like the s in Mod. English rise. See Sievers, OE. Gr. § 204.

The development of s in the W. dialect is parallel with that of f (§ 283) and p (§ 306), so that we shall here distinguish the three positions: 1. Initially. 2. When the sound has remained medial in the W. dialect. 3. When the sound was already final in OE. or has become final in the W. dialect. Here two subdivisions are necessary according as we have now the voiceless or the voiced spirant. Cp. § 283.

- I. Initial s has remained both before vowels and consonants: sā a drain, sough, sāk to suck, sam up to pick up, seem lard, set to set, sī (OE. sēon=OHG. sīhan) to stretch, sin since, sind to rinse, wash out, slate(r) to spill, smuið smooth, snod smooth, even, snikit a small passage, speik to speak, spitek spigot, steim to bespeak, stedi steady, strie straw, swāp the skin of bacon, sweep the handle of a machine.
 - s(?) has become š in šū, šo she.
- s has also remained before ü in French words, whereas in the lit. language it has become š: siuge(r) sugar, siue(r) sure.

2. Medially between voiced sounds we have z: bīzm besom, bizness business, buzed butterfly, dlazn to glaze, fezn pheasant, frozn frozen, fuzi soft, spongy, mizl to drizzle (of rain), rīzd rancid (of bacon), rizn risen, þāzn thousand, uzbn husband, wizn to wither.

z has also remained before ü in French words, but has become ž in the lit. language: mezə(r) measure, plezə(r) pleasure, trezə(r) treasure.

The \eth in siðəz scissors is difficult to explain. It is just possible that it may have been influenced by saið scythe, just as mud might (verb) has probably been influenced by kud could, sud should, and be-int behind by frunt front, and beed to bathe by weed to wade.

In combination with voiceless sounds s has been retained: book to bask, blosm blossom, fasn to fasten, kist a chest, kosn to christen, musl muscle, rasl to wrestle, rust (O.Icel. röst) rest, repose, träst to trust, prosl (OE. prostle) thrush.

3. ās house, dlas glass, džais (O.Fr. giste) joist, gīs geese, kēs to curse, kus kiss, lās (pl. lais) louse, mās (pl. mais) mouse, muns months, oos horse, uos(t) hoarse, vis this.

anz hands, bleez blaze, duz dost, does, but dus te? dost thou? greez to graze, iuz to use, loiz (OE. losian) to lose, nuez nose, raiz to rise, ruez rose, temz (ME. temse) hopsieve, tluez clothes.

Final z is very common in originally unstressed forms, as iz, z is, 8az thou hast, ĭz he has, he is, ez, uz us, never us even as stressed form, ez as.

§ 311. s has disappeared in: pei (ME. pese) pea, ridl (ME. redels) riddle, šimi chemise, tšeri (O.Fr. cerise) cherry.

The Gutturals.

c.

§ 312. Germanic k, generally written c in OE., remained a guttural initially before the guttural vowels a, \bar{a} , o, \bar{o} , u, \bar{u} and their mutations e, \bar{e} , e, \bar{e} (\bar{e}), y, \bar{y} , but became a palatal before the palatal vowels \bar{e} , \bar{e} (=OHG. \bar{a}), e (=Germanic e) ea, eo, \bar{e} a, \bar{e} o, i, \bar{i} and their mutations e, ie (=i-umlaut of ea, eo), \bar{i} e (i-umlaut of \bar{e} a, \bar{e} o).

Medial c and cc remained a guttural before a following a, o, u, but became palatal when an i or j originally followed, as sēc(e)an = Goth. sōkjan to seek, pecc(e)an from older *pakjan to cover, bryce from older *brukiz breach. See Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 206-7.

But already at an early period the palatals became gutturals again in many cases in the Anglian dialects, e.g. sēcan to seek, pencan to think, cāld cold. See Sweet, HES. § 535, Kluge, Grundriss der germanischen Philologie, i. pp. 836-41.

- 1. Initial c before consonants.
- c has disappeared before n: neid to knead, naif knife, nī knee.

It has remained before r: kraps the renderings of lard, kreev to crave, krinž to cringe, kriuk crook, kroe craw.

It has become t before 1: tlād cloud, tlam to famish, tlāt clout, tleg (Lowland Scot. clag) to clog, tlenk to flog, box on the ears, tlie(r) clear, tliet coltsfoot, tlien clean, tlim to climb, tlie to cling, tlip to clip, tliu a ball of string or worsted, tlīv to cleave, tloe claw, tloek to scratch with the fingers or claws, tlok to cluck, tlomp to tread heavily, tluek cloak, tluep cloth, tlueve(r) clover. k has disappeared in nek-lep neckcloth, handkerchief.

2. Initially before vowels.

kā cow, kaf chaff, kaind kind, kait kite, kanl candle, kāt cart, kāv to carve, keek bread of every kind, kee(r) care, kei key, kek hemlock, kemp (ME. kempe shaggy) small coarse white hairs in wool, kep to catch (a ball, etc.), kest (ME. kesten) to cast, ketl kettle, kēget kirkgate (but tšētš church), kēnl kernel, kēs to curse, kēsmes Christmas, kīl to cool, kil (OE. cwellan) to kill, kiln kiln, e-kin akin, kīn keen, kindm (OE. cynedōm) kingdom, kip-kof (cp. ME. kinken to pant, gasp), whooping cough, kīp to keep, kist a chest, box, kit (ME. kitte, cp. Mid. Du. kitte) a pail, kitl to tickle, kitl to bring forth kittens, kitšn kitchen, koef calf, koel to call, kal to gossip, koen corn, koit coat, koud cold, kouk (see NED. sub colk) coke, kout colt, kubed cupboard, kud (OE. cwidu) cud, kuem comb, kūk cook, kum to come.

tšaid to chide, tšap chap, tšavl to nibble at, gnaw, chew, tšeu to chew, tšātš church, tšiep cheap, tšīk cheek, tšikin chicken, tšilde(r) children, tšin chin, tšerep to chirp, tšīz cheese, tšiuz to choose, tšoek chalk, tšoul (ME. chavel, O. Low Germ. kafal) lit. jaw, only used in the phrase tšīk en tšoul said of two people walking closely together, tšuek to choke, tšuf proud, haughty.

3. Initial sc.

skab scab, skaftin shafting, skelp (ME. skelpen) to beat, flog, skep (O. Icel. skeppa) a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, skeelz scales, skēf scurf, skai sky, skift to shift, remove, skil skill, skin skin, skoup scoop, skuft the nape of the neck, skuil school, skul skull of the head, skute(r) to spill, skraml to scramble, skreep to scrape, skrat (ME. scrattin) to scratch, skriem to scream, skrīk (O. Low Germ. scrīcōn) to shriek.

šak to shake, šait cacare, šaiv (ME. schīve, M. Low Germ. schīve) a slice, šakl shackle, šap shape, šel shell,

šelf shelf, šeed shade, šeem shame, šee(r) share, šie(r) to shear, šil (ME. schellen, but Prom. Parv. p. 446 has schillin) to shell peas, šin shin, šip ship, šiuk shook, šop shop, šot shot, šut shut, šuďe(r) to shudder, šuv to shove, šrepk shrank, šrimp shrimp, šripk to shrink.

Initial sc has become s in: sal, sl, s shall, sud, sed, st should.

4. When medial c has not become final in the W. dialect. esked (cp. ME. aske lizard) newt, fikl fickle, kokl cockle, miks (by metathesis from OE. miscian) to mix, sikl sickle, twipkl to twinkle.

flike(r) to flicker, neekt naked, snikit a small passage, wokp to waken.

kitšn kitchen.

meed made, musl mussel, teen taken, feseen forsaken.

5. When **c** or its further development is final in the W. dialect.

bek beck, beek to bake, brek to break, briuk brook, daik ditch, dreek drake, fleek flake (of snow), bried-fleik (O. Icel. fleki hurdle) a hurdle on which out-cakes are dried, flik flitch of bacon, flok flock, ik (cp. Low Germ. hicken) to hitch, iuk hook, kok cock, lavrek lark, lek to leak, leek to play, lik to lick, liuk to look, lok lock, mak to make, muk muck, nek neck, niuk nook, nok to knock, pak bundle, pluk pluck, prik to prick, reak rake, reik to reach, rik smoke, sāk to suck, sek sack, seek sake, slek small coal, slek to extinguish a fire with water, slumek a dirty, untidy person, sneek snake, snek (ME. snekke) latch of a door, spek speck, speik to speak, stock stake, suck to soak, tak to take, tik tick, tiuk took, tlik (OE. elyccan) to clutch, seize, catch hold, pak thatch, pik thick, weik (ME. weke) the wick of a lamp or candle, wak (noun) work, wak to work, wik (O. Icel. vik (noun) stirring, moving) quick, alive.

book balk, beam, took to talk, wook to walk.

benk bench, drink to drink, enk hank, spenk to hit, pink to think.

bāk bark, bēk birch, foek fork, māk mark, moek maggot, stāk (OE. stearc strong, severe) very, quite, wāk (OE. wærc, O. Icel. verkr) ache, pain.

Palatal nc has become nš: drenš (OE. drencan) to drench. bitš bitch, bleitš to bleach, breitš breach, britš breech, etš to hatch, fotš to fetch, krutš crutch, latš latch. leitš leech, meitš to measure, mitš much, notš a run at the game of cricket, pitš pitch, sitš such, speitš speech, stitš stitch, stretš to stretch, swetš (OE. swæcc a taste) a sample of cloth, tletš (cp. O. Icel. klekja to hatch) a brood of chickens, teitš to teach, witš which, wotš to watch.

6. Final sc.

ask (ME. harsk, cp. Dan. harsk) dry, rough, harsh, besk to bask, busk to go about from place to place singing and playing for money.

eš ash-tree, fiš fish, fleš flesh, freš fresh, peš (ME. paschen, cp. Swed. paska) to knock about, smash, dash, reš rash, weš to wash, wiš to wish.

sc has become s in as (OE. æsce) ash, as-midin ash-pit, as beside aks (OE. āscian, ācsian) to ask, mens (OE. mennisc dignity, honour) neatness, tidiness.

§ 313. k has disappeared through assimilation in keget kirkgate, kip-kof whooping cough, beside kipk (ME. kinken to pant, gasp) to cough (of whooping cough), wate (lit. work day, kd > kt > tt > t) week day. pks > ps in the phrase pips to? thinkest thou? as ednt's out to (e) dunt, pips to? (lit. hadst not thou ought to have done it, thinkest thou?) don't you think you ought to have done it? Many people pronounce it as if it were pip sto?

§ 314. The relation, if any, of bleg, plural blegz, to blackberry is difficult to explain. It may be that blakberi became blagberi by assimilation, and that then beri was dropped. blag would regularly become bleg in the W. dial., see § 59.

g.

§ 315. OE. initial \mathbf{g} was a voiced spirant before both vowels and consonants. Before guttural vowels and their mutations (cp. § 312) it was a guttural spirant, as also before $\mathbf{æ}$ (Sievers, OE. Gr. § 212), but before the palatal vowels \mathbf{e} (=Germanic \mathbf{e}), $\mathbf{e}\mathbf{a}$, $\mathbf{e}\mathbf{o}$, $\mathbf{e}\mathbf{a}$, $\mathbf{e}\mathbf{o}$, \mathbf{i} , $\mathbf{i}\mathbf{e}$ it was a palatal spirant. At a later period the guttural spirant became an explosive before consonants, guttural vowels, and \mathbf{v} (= \mathbf{i} -umlaut of \mathbf{v}), \mathbf{e} (= \mathbf{i} -umlaut of \mathbf{v}); but the palatal spirant remained. On forms like Mod. Engl. $\mathbf{g}\mathbf{v}\mathbf{e}$, $\mathbf{g}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{t}$, $\mathbf{b}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{g}\mathbf{i}\mathbf{n}$, etc., see Sweet's New English Grammar §§ 817–8, and Kluge in Paul's Grundriss I. pp. 843–4.

Medially between vowels it was a voiced spirant. After n = n it was an explosive. And when geminated (written cg) it was also a voiced guttural or palatal explosive according as it was originally followed by a guttural or palatal vowel.

During the OE. period final g became h after long guttural vowels and r, 1, Sievers § 214.

1. Initial g before consonants.

It has disappeared before n: neeg to gnaw, nat gnat.

It has remained before r: gosl gristle, gree grey, grin green, grund ground.

Before 1 it has become d: dlad glad, dlāmi sad, down-cast, dlas glass, dlium gloom, dluo(r) (ME. glōren, Swed. glōra) to stare, dlumpi sulky, morose.

2. Initially before vowels.

Initially before vowels it has had the same development as in lit. Engl.:

gab (cp. O. Icel. gabba) impudence, cheek, gano(r) gander, gavlok (OE. gafoluc spear) crowbar, geop to gape, geot gate, gest guest, get to get, gilt (O. Icel. gilta) a young female pig, bo-gin to begin, giv, gi to give, goit a water channel, mill-stream, guot goat, goud gold, guid good.

jād yard, jān yarn, jel to yell, jelp to yelp, jest yeast, jestede yesterday, jīld to yield, joen to yawn, jole yellow, juek yolk.

3. When g or its further development has not become final in the W. dial.

æg has become eə: breen brain, eəl hail, feən fain, gladly, feə(r) fair, meen main, neəl nail, peəl pail, sleen slain, sneəl snail, teəl tail, see § 65. But we have sed (OE. sæde beside sægde) said.

ag has become oo: doon to dawn.

āg has become oo in oon own.

eg has become ee and has thus fallen together with ee from æg: breed (OE. bregdan) to resemble, act like another person, geen (O. Icel. gegn) near, direct, geen gain, leed laid, leen lain, reel rail, reen rain, seel sail. See § 84.

ig has beeome $\bar{\imath}$: st $\bar{\imath}$ l, st $\bar{\imath}$ stile, t $\bar{\imath}$ l tile, cp. also st $\bar{\imath}$ ladder. But we have sail from sigelian to drain through a sieve, saið from sigþe scythe. ig cannot have become $\bar{\imath}$ at a very early period in the North, otherwise it would have become ai like old $\bar{\imath}$. Cp. also Easther, A Glossary of the Dialect of Almondbury and Huddersfield, sub sile and stigh.

og has become ou: floun flown.

ug has become ā: fāl fowl, kāl cowl.

4. When g, cg, or their further development have become final in the W. dialect.

a. g has combined with the preceding vowel along with which it has become a long vowel or a diphthong.

æg: dee day, mee (emphatic form) may.

ag: droe to draw, loe law.

āg: lou low, ou to owe.

æg: gree grey, tlee clay; kei key, nei to neigh.

eg: wee way, wei to weigh.

ēg: dī to dye, drī dreary, gloomy, tedious, tī to tie.

ĭg: stī sty, stī ladder.

og: bou (OE. boga) bow.

og: biu bough, driu drew, iniu (pl.) enough, as este inif bried? hast thou enough bread? But este iniu poreets? hast thou enough potatoes? pliu plough, sliu slew.

 $\bar{\mathbf{e}}\mathbf{g}$: slī sly.

ug: sā sough, drain; but suf-oil manhole of a drain, bā to bow, sā (OE. sugu) sow.

yg: drai dry.

ēag: ī (pl. īn) eye.

ēog: flī to fly, flī fly, lī to tell a lie.

b. After 1 we have e, i: bele to bellow, fole to follow, gales gallows, swole to swallow, tale tallow, beli belly.

After r we have e, i: bore to borrow, mare marrow, sore sorrow, beri berry, beri to bury, weri to worry.

- c. Final ig in unaccented syllables has become i: bodi body, dizi dizzy, evi heavy, moni many, oni any, rudi ruddy.
- d. We have f in: duef dough, duefi cowardly, lit. doughy, dwāf dwarf, inif (sing.) enough, sluf slough, suf-oil manhole of a drain, trof trough, uf displeasure, an offended manner, rage.

Here may conveniently be placed druft (OE. drūgaþ) drought, sterep (OE. stīg-rāp) stirrup, bākm (OE. beorg + ham, see N.E.D. sub bargham) the collar of a horse.

Note.—sā drain, and iniu (pl.) enough, are from the inflected forms.

e. The W. dialect has g:

dreag to drawl, eag the berry of the hawthorn, ig (OE. hyge mind) mood, temper, meag maw, neag to gnaw, seeg a saw.

beg bag, big big, great, breg to brag, brig bridge, brigz a trivet, in brewing, to put across a tub to support the hopsieve, deg (cp. Swed. dagga to bedew) to besprinkle with water, dig to dig, dog dog, dreg to drag, dregz drags, eg (ME. eggen) to incite, urge on, eg egg, flig (ME. fligge, cp. OHG. flukke able to fly) fledge, flog to flog, fog (ME. fogge rank grass) after-grass, frig coire, frog frog, geg (ME. gaggin) to gag, ie-wig earwig, leg leg, lig to lie down, lug (ME. luggen, Swed. lugga to lug, drag) to pull the hair of the head, mig midge, og the wool of a sheep which has been shorn for the first time, pig pig, prog wood collected for the fire on the fifth of November, reg rag, rig back, rigin ridge of a house, seg sedge, seg (ME. saggin) to distend, šeg shag, tug (ME. tuggen) to tug, plod, twig twig, ug to carry, weg to wag.

f. The W. dialect has dž in: edž hedge, edž edge, sledž-ame(r) sledge-hammer, wedž wedge.

g. Palatal ng has become nž: inž hinge, krinž to cringe, sinž to singe.

h. bai (OE. bycgan) to buy, lee (OE. lecgan) to lay, see (OE. secgan) to say are from the forms without gemination.

h.

§ 316. OE. initial h was an aspirate like the h in Mod. Engl. hand. In other positions it was a spirant like the ch in German nach, ich.

§ 317. a. Initial h has disappeared in the W. dialect:

ap (ME. happen) to wrap up, eft haft, handle, oil hole, uel whole, ut hot.

loup (O.Icel. hlaupa) to jump, lusf (OE. hlaf) loaf.

nit (OE. hnitu) nit, nut (OE. hnutu) nut.

rip (OE. hring) ring, riuk (OE. hroc) rook.

wio(r) where, wiot wheat, was wharf, wen when, wot what.

§ 318. b. Medial and final h have disappeared except in the examples under $c,\ d$:

eit eight, eit height, feit to fight, reit right, streit straight, weit weight.

brīt bright, flīt flight, frīt fright, līt light, līts (ME. lihte) the lungs of animals, mīt (noun) might, nīt night, plīt plight, rīt wright, sīt sight, slīt slight, tīt tight.

bout bought, brout brought, doute(r) daughter, out aught, out ought, nout naught, rout wrought, sout sought, tout taught, pout thought.

ei high, but efe(r) (OE. hēahfore) heifer, nei nigh, but neebe(r) (OE. nāah-gebūr) neighbour.

sī to sigh, see Mayhew OE. Phonology, § 814, soe he saw, pī thigh.

fere (OE. furh, ME. furh, furwe) furrow, ole (OE. holh, ME. holwe) hollow.

§ 319. c. h has become fin: draft draught, draft, kof cough, laf laugh, ruf rough, tof tough, woof (OE. walh sickly taste) insipid.

lafte(r) laughter, slafter to slaughter.

Beside priu (OE. purh) we have also prif through.

§ 320. d. hs has become ks: nekst next, oks ox, siks six, woks to grow.

The French Element.

§ 321. The consonants of the French words occurring in the W. dialect have for the most part been already treated along with the other consonants. There therefore only remain to be added a few examples of k, g, š, tš, dž.

k.

§ 322. k has remained: koul (O. Fr. coillir) to rake, koese (O. Norm. Fr. causie) causeway, keed card, kees case, keisn (lit. occasion) need, necessity, kontréeri contrary, kreek to creak.

skafi scaffold, skafiin scaffolding, skoud to scald, skeelit scarlet, kwaleti quality, kwari stone quarry, kwaiet quiet, kweet quart, keekes body, carcase, blenkit blanket, blenk blank, ink ink, renk rank, avek havoc, biek beak, leelek lilac, paik to pick, choose, select, puek pork, fakt fact, but pl. faks.

- § 323. kl has become tl in tlak clerk, tleem claim, trietl treacle. The change of initial kl to tl is quite regular in native English words also (§ 312, 1), but trietl is the only example I know where medial or rather final kl has become tl.
- § 324. kw has become tw in: twil quill, pen, twilt quilt, twilt to beat, thrash.
- § 325. wišin cushion, seems to be the same as the literary word originally, but I cannot for the present offer a satisfactory explanation of the exact relation in which they stand to each other.

g.

§ 326. g has remained: gāl the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye (see Florio, s.v. cispa a kind of waterish matter in sore eyes, called of some Gowl. Or it is cispi waterish or gowly eyes), galek (O. Fr. gale) left hand, garit garret, geete(r) garter, gizn to choke, gol goal, only used in the game of lits en gēts (§ 177), grant grant, egrivéet to aggravate, vex, eegifái to argue, dispute.

š.

§ 327. We regularly have š in cases where the lit. language has this sound: fešn fashion, pešn passion, rediš radish.

finiš finish, vāniš varnish, blemiš blemish. branš branch, eenšn ancient.

dž.

§ 328. dž has generally remained in words where the lit. language has this sound. In the W. dial. dž also occurs after n: džais joist, dželes jealous, dželi jelly, džoul to knock, strike, džoint joint, džoem the side post of a door or chimney piece, džoenes jaundice, eedž age, damidž damage, fuedž forge, indžói to enjoy, lepwidž language, pidžn pigeon, soudže(r) soldier.

indžn engine, moendž mange, moendži mangy, peevish, streendž strange, tšeendž change.

§ 329. dž has become d in: Doed George, Dued Joe, Duez, Duezi Joshua, doi joy, darling, a pet word applied to children. This last word gives a clue to the explanation of

the change, which is no doubt due to the imperfect pronunciation of children being imitated by grown-up persons. The proper names must originally have been used in addressing children only, just as doi still is, and then afterwards have become used for grown-up persons.

tš.

§ 330. We regularly have tš in the same words in which the literary language has it: tšapl chapel, tšeedž to charge, tšeeme(r) chamber, tšeri cherry, tšimli chimney, tšois choice, tšons chance, tšont chant.

preitš to preach, poutš to poach.

ACCIDENCE.

CHAPTER VII.

NOUNS.

A. Formation of the Plural.

- 1. Plurals in -oz, -z, -s.
- § 331. Nouns ending in s, š, z, ž add ez to form the plural, as las lass lasez, fees face feesez, but ās house has āzez; diš dish dišez, wotš watch wotšez; nuez nose, nuezez, saiz size saizez; edž hedge edžez, džudž judge džudžez.
- § 332. Nouns ending in a vowel or voiced consonant other than z, ž add z, as: lad lad ladz, gam game gamz, ratn rat ratnz, leeð barn leeðz, dee day deez. But nouns ending in -nd, (-r) lose the -d, (-r) before the plural ending §§ 302, 259, as frend friend frenz, faðe(r) father faðez.
- § 333. Nouns ending in a voiceless consonant other than s, š add s, as lat lath lats, kap cap kaps, diep death dieps, māp mouth māps, wāf wharf wāfs, ruif roof ruifs.

But nouns ending in f preceded by a vowel or diphthong (except ui) which was long in OE., and nouns originally ending in -lf change the f into v and add z in the plural, as luef loaf luevz, naif knife naivz, koef calf koevz.

2. Plurals in -n.

§ 334. There are only three nouns which have -n in the plural: ī eye īn, oks ox oksn, šū shoe šuin.

3. Plural in -r.

§ 335. The only example of this class is $t\check{s}ild\vartheta(r)$ children. In the singular we use $b\bar{a}n$, the plural of which is $b\bar{a}nz$, and is in more general use than $t\check{s}ild\vartheta(r)$.

4. Plurals with umlaut.

§ 336. These are: fuit foot fīt, guis goose gīs, lās louse lais, man man men, mās mouse mais, tuip tooth tīp, wumen woman wimin.

5. Singular and Plural alike.

§ 337. as ash, ashes, fiš fish, fishes, šīp sheep.

Nouns expressing time, space, weight, measure, and number, when preceded by a cardinal numeral, as iz net bin sīn fə ten jiə(r) he has not been seen for ten years, but its jiəz sin ə wə sīn it's years since he was seen, and similarly with munp month, wik week. þrī mail þrə Koəvlə three miles from Calverley, but mailz þrə ðiə(r) miles from there, and similarly for inš inch, fuit foot, jiəd yard, eəkə(r) acre, etc. ten pund ə meit ten pounds of meat, cp. lit. Engl. a ten-pound note, but ðə wə punz ont wəəstəd there were pounds of it wasted, and similarly with āns ounce, stuen stone, undəd weit hundred weight, etc. tū kweət ət bəst two quarts of the best (ale), siks galn six gallons, nain šilin nine shillings, etc. foue skuə(r) four scores, but skuəz on əm scores of them, etc.

6. Miscellaneous.

§ 338. Some nouns are only used in the plural as: kruds curds, laps a kind of woollen waste made in spinning, līts lungs of animals, loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, mezlz measles, noilz the short hairs taken out of the wool by the combing machine, roidz clearings (of a wood), now only used in the phrase West Roidz West Royds, siðez scissors, sperinz banns of marriage, tenz tongs, trūzez trousers. Others have a different meaning in the singular and the plural, as brig bridge pl. brigs bridges, a trivet to put across a tub to support the hop-sieve, green grain greenz malt which has been used in brewing beer, grund ground grunz sediment.

Nouns with double plural endings are rare, but we have them in: belosez bellows, galosez braces, stepsez steps.

In speaking of cows the form bies is generally used, as ā moni bies eje nā? how many cows (lit. beasts) have you now?

poridž porridge, always, and brop broth, frequently, require the plural form of the verb as **5em poridž worent** ez guid ez **5e out te** (e) bīn, lit. them porridge were not as good as they ought to have been.

B. Formation of the Genitive Case.

§ 339. The sign of the genitive both singular and plural is generally omitted when one noun qualifies another; the two nouns thus forming a kind of compound, as demz mi fade buits those are my father's boots; but dem buits e mi fade those boots are my father's, that fade buits the boy's father's boots, but the touts e that fade the boots of the boy's

father, dem banz (never banzez) mude(r) those children's mother.

When the genitive is not followed by another noun, the gen. singular and plural have the same form as the nom. plural. The only exceptions are that nouns which end in -vz in the plural have -fs in the gen. singular, waifs wife's, and the two umlaut-plurals men, wimin have sing. manz, wumenz, plural menz, wiminz.

CHAPTER VIII.

ADJECTIVES.

1. The Articles.

§ 341. The definite article t the is generally attached to the following word, as tman the man, tkoilz the coals, tak tguid enz take the good ones, tloed e tmane(r) the lord of the manor, a duent noe wot tman did wit I don't know what the man did with it, a no(e) ue tman wo(r) I know who the man was.

When the word following the definite article begins with t or d, the only trace of the article is that t and d become suspended or popularly expressed lengthened. We make a clear distinction between teebl table and t'eebl the table, dlium gloom and d'lium the gloom.

Cp. the similar distinction between eit eight, and eit' eighth.

We however always use to before lood when it means God, as text nuebdi bed to lood on mī, noez wot iv ed to baid there is nobody but the Lord and myself, know what I have had to suffer. to (never t) is also used after ue who, wot what, in such expressions as: ue to divided that? who the devil did that? wot to expend duz e wont? what the hangment does he want? a duent noe wot to expend i did wit I don't know what the hangment he did with it.

Note.—In order to obtain information on this difference in the use of t and be in some other Yorkshire dialect, I wrote to Mr. Bradley, the Joint Editor of the New English Dictionary, who is thoroughly conversant with the Sheffield dialect; and from his kind communication I learn that the distinction in the Sheffield dialect is practically the same as in my own. I venture to quote the following extract from his letter, which will be found interesting and instructive.—'t' lord o' t' manor—(decidedly). When "Lord" means God, the association of liturgical and Bible reading generally cause the full pronunciation (50) to be used. But I have, though rarely, heard t' Lord, in rather off-hand, irreverent speech; and "Lord knows" without any article at all is common enough. A don't know what t' man did wi' it—(certainly not 50 man, nor man without article). What the hangment, What the devil, What the plague, etc.—(always 50, never t or omitted). A know who t' man wor—(certainly not 50, nor omitted).'

2. Comparison of Adjectives.

§ 342. The comparative is formed by adding -ə(r) and the superlative by adding -ist to the positive. This rule also holds good for familiar adjectives of two or more syllables. But unfamiliar adjectives of more than one syllable sometimes form the comparative and superlative by prefixing muə(r), muəst.

fae(r) far, fare(r), farist; jup young, jupe(r), jupist or jupst; uelsm wholesome, uelsm-e(r), uelsm-ist; biutifleautiful, biutifl-er, biutifl-ist.

§ 343. The following adjectives are compared irregularly as in lit. Engl.:

bad bad } il ill	f war a f a(r)	wāst
guid good	$bete(\mathbf{r})$	best
lat late	late(r)	latist, last
litl little	les	liest
moni many } mitš much	muə(r)	muəst
niə(r) near	$\mathbf{niere}(\mathbf{r})$	nierist, nekst

Note.—The use of vari before adjectives is the same as in lit. Engl.: vari guid very good. But instead of using vari we sometimes repeat the adjective with each guid explain guid very good, dak ex dak very dark,

3. Numerals.

§ 344. a. Cardinal and ordinal numerals.

Cardinal.	Ordinal.
wun one	$f\overline{e}st$
tū two	seknd
þrī three	þēd
foue(r) four	fouet
$\mathbf{faiv}five$	\mathbf{fift}
siks six	sikst
sevm seven	sevnt
eit eight	eit'
nain nine	naint
ten ten	tent
(ə)levm eleven	(e)levnt
twelv twelve	twelft
þ ö tin thirteen	þ ö tint
fouetin fourteen	fouətīnt

Ordinal. Cardinal. fiftin fifteen fiftint sikstīn sixteen sikstīnt sevntīn seventeen sevntīnt eitīn eighteen eitīnt naintīn nineteen naintīnt twenti twenty twentit twenti wun twenty-one twenti fēst twenti tū twenty-two twenti seknd þāti thirty bētit foti forty fotit fifti fifty fiftit siksti sixty sikstit sevnti seventy sevntit eiti eighty eitit nainti ninety naintit unded hundred undət þāzn thousand þāznt

§ 345. The old form uen one is still retained in the phrase tuen the one of two, as tuen on est, lit. the one of them has it, i. e. one of the two has it. The unaccented form is en or rather vocalic n, as it wer e guidn it was a good one. We may also note wun-ā somehow, wun-ā er enuðe(r) somehow or other.

On the suspended t' in eit' eighth, see §§ 341, 306.

m for older n (§ 270) is regularly heard in sevm, (e)levm; but in sevnt, (e)levnt, sevntīn, etc., m for older n is seldom, if ever, heard.

All the ordinals, except seknd and pēd, end in t. Most of these are, of course, new formations made after the analogy of fēst, fift, sikst, twelft which had t in OE. See § 309. In a similar manner the lit. Engl. ordinals fifth,

sixth, twelfth, and all those ending in -nth are new formations made after the analogy of such forms as fourth, OE. feoweroa.

§ 346. In playing at games, e.g. marbles tooz, boys have the following ordinals, denoting the order in which each is to begin the game. The boy who calls out for has the first turn. The order is for first, soki second, podithird, lari last.

Note.—too is used for a marble of any kind. When made of marble or alabaster it is called a wait ali, if streaked with red veins a bluid ali; when of glass ali; when made of powdered stone a stuani; when made of clay a pot donak.

- § 347. b. Fractional numerals: kweete(r) quarter, e fouet or wun peet āt e foue(r) a fourth, e pēd or wun peet āt e prī a third, and similarly tū pēdz or tū peets āt e prī two thirds, oef half, as e oef pund, oef pund, or oef e pund half a pound, oepni halfpenny, oepep halfpennyworth.
- § 348. c. Multiplicatives: simpl simple, dubl double, tribl, pribl threefold, foue-foud fourfold, wuns once, twais twice, pri taimz three times.
- § 349. d. Numerals in composition: e tūpri lit. a two (or) three, a few, as ler em ev e tūpri let them have a few, tupms two pence, fipms fivepence, prepms three pence, etc.

CHAPTER IX.

PRONOUNS.

1. Personal.

§ 350.

FIRST PERSON.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	ai, (a, i)	$w\bar{i}$, (wi, we)
Obj.	$m\bar{i}$, (m_{θ})	$uz, (\partial z, s)$

SECOND PERSON.

Nom.	ðā, tā, (ða, ta, tə)	jī, (ji, jə)
Obj.	$\eth \bar{\imath}, (\eth e)$	$\mathbf{j}ar{\mathbf{i}},(\mathbf{j}ar{\mathbf{e}})$

THIRD PERSON.

Singular.

Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
Nom. ī, (i, ə)	it, (t)	$\check{\mathbf{s}}\bar{\mathbf{u}},(\check{\mathbf{s}}\mathbf{u},\check{\mathbf{s}}\mathbf{e})$
Obj. im	it, (t)	$\bar{\mathbf{e}}(\mathbf{r}),(\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r}).$

Plural.

Nom. $\eth \Theta \Theta$, $(\eth \Theta$, $\eth \Theta)$ Obj. $\eth \Theta M$, $(\Theta M, M)$. The weak forms are in parentheses. They are far more frequently employed than the strong ones; the latter are only used to express special emphasis.

The weak form i I is older than a, it arose from the shortening of \bar{i} before the latter became ai, whereas a is the regular weak form of ai, cp. the weak forms abod yes but, wol until, wa why, beside the strong forms aibod, wail (noun) while, wai. Examples of the first person are:

muni gue wi je? must I go with you? sali et temoen? shall I have it to-morrow? if id nobed e bit e bras, a wodnt (or ad not) diu sitš wāk if I had only a little brass (money), I would not do such work, al kum en sī je, wen i ger e bit e taim I will come and see you, when I get a bit of time, as e dun ina I shall have done presently, a fan em i tloin I found them in the lane, gi m(e) e feu give me a few, de teld me da wer ie(r) they told me (that) thou wast here. wi or we ban dan til we are going down the hill, sud we len im it? should we lend him it? del or del stop wol we kum they will stop until (while) we come. lets as im let us or me ask him, še benkt ez fe tpeenz wid teen wit she thanked us for the pains we had taken with it. The z in the strong form uz is never voiceless as it is in lit. Engl. The weak form s is only used when it is attached enclitically to a preceding voiceless consonant.

The strong form tā and the weak forms ta, to can only be used interrogatively and in subordinate sentences, as wil tā weš it? wilt thou wash it? wito len mot? wilt thou lend me it? wios to kum priu? (lit. where hast thou come through) where do you come from? kan to diut bi disen? canst thou do it by thyself? wen tot redi wil send dot when thou art ready we will send thee it. as or asl gi do (o) oopni if to olps mo, I shall give thee a halfpenny if thou helpest me, dat nuon so wil os to wo(r) thou art not so well

as thou wast, dal (never tal or tel) find im et iz wak thou wilt find him at his work. At first sight one might be inclined to assume that the forms ta, to have arisen from assimilation with verbal forms ending in -t, e.g. ăt (§ 396) art, out (§ 394) oughtest, dost (frequently dos § 390) durst; but these are the three solitary instances in which the second person singular ends in -t where assimilation could take place. See the personal endings (§ 385). It is far more probable that the forms have arisen from their unaccented position in the sentence. If this is right then the def. art. t has a similar origin. However the t of the article arose, I certainly do not believe that it is a clipped form of dat that, which is regularly used as a demonstrative (§ 354), but never as a rel. pronoun or conjunction; the latter are expressed by et (§§ 356, 401). am bān te tak de wi me I am going to take thee with me. ji or je sed et im it rep you said that I am in the wrong, wot did je see tul im? what did you say to him? wil je sam me dem tluez up? will you pick up those clothes for me? jov etn ool tmeit sue jel e te diu bāt nā wol setede you have eaten all the meat so you will have to do without until Saturday, if je (not ji) sī mi faðə(r), as im tə kum uəm if you see my father, ask him to come home, wi soe je i tmiln we saw you in the mill. The old objective form of the second person plural has entirely died out; cp. on the other hand the disappearance in Modern English of the old nom. ye except in liturgical and the higher literary language. The pronoun of the second person singular is still extensively used, but it is not so general now as it was twenty years ago. When I was a lad the following was the rule: Ja was used in every case except that jī was used (1) in addressing strangers, especially grown-up people, or as a mark of respect to masters and old people; (2) children in addressing their

parents; (3) people who had made each other's acquaintance after they had grown up usually employed jī in speaking to each other.

The masc. of the third person singular is the only pronoun which has not at least two forms for the obj. case. im is no doubt used as a weak form so as to prevent confusion with the obj. case of the plural. t is attached to the preceding The nominative of the feminine presents great Dr. Sweet in his New English Grammar difficulties. (§ 1068) gives the following explanation for the lit. Engl. form she: the old demonstrative seo became sho through the intermediate stage seō(sjoo), then shō became contaminated with the old personal pronoun heo, which gave rise to the form sheo which would regularly become she in Mod. English. This explanation may or may not be right for the lit. language, but a form sheo could not possibly become šū, but only šī in the W. dial. as also in the other dialects round about Windhill; cp. the Dialect Tests in Ellis, EEPr. v. On the other hand, the uncontaminated form shō would not become šū but šiu in the modern dialect, cp. tiu too, diu do, etc. § 164 c; unless we may assume, which I do not believe is the case, that the one solitary example (šū shoe, but pl. šuin §§ 163-4 c) containing ū from older ō has not been borrowed from the lit. language. On the various origins of W. ū see § 40. the present the form šū she still remains a riddle. strong form dem is from OE. dem (dam), the dat. plural of the demonstrative pronoun sē, sēo, ðæt, whereas the weak forms em, m are from OE. heom, the dat. plural of the personal pronoun hē, hēo, hit.

Examples of the third person are: iz bīn on trant oəl twik he has been on the spree all the week, eze fotšt dat flik e beekp? has he fetched that flitch of bacon? i ied it wen e

wer et jär äs he heard it when he was at your house, tiznt main it is not mine, eze funt? has he found it? gimet give me it, estet? hast thou it? wots e dun wit? what has he done with it? suz in e mad ig she is in a bad temper, su or se oles wesez e tmunde she always washes (the clothes) on the Monday, ese or es se sared tpigz? has she served the pigs? stop wol se kumz stop until she comes, sed or sed e gin me ten sillin fot they would have given me ten shillings for it, wil se suin bi ie(r)? will they soon be here? Sel suin bi ier if se kum reit uem they will soon be here if they come straight (right) home, al sel jem I will sell you them, kan je diu bāt em? can you do without them?

It is hardly possible to give a very clearly defined and accurate rule for the use of the weak nominative forms:

a, wi; ji; i; šu; če beside i, we; je; e; še; če.

The former set is mostly used in making direct assertions, and the latter in interrogative and subordinate sentences. i *I* and a *he* are never used in making direct assertions, but the other pairs are, and when the one form and when the other is used, seems to depend upon sentence rhythm.

The obj. case of all persons is often used reflexively, as al weš mə nā I will wash myself now, am džust bān tə don mə I am just going to dress myself, i ləəd im dān i tfīld he lay down in the field, kum forəd lad ən sit öə dān ən al set tketl on come forward lad and sit (thee) down and I will set the kettle on (and make some tea).

We always use the obj. case where in refined lit. Engl. the nom. is used:

1. After the substantive verb, as its $m\bar{i}$, $p\bar{i}$, $\bar{o}(r)$, im, uz, $j\bar{i}$, δem , lit. it is me, thee, her, him, us, you, them. Note δemz om at i want those are the ones that I want.

- 2. When the verb refers to different persons, as im on mī went he and I went, Bil on imz guon dān truod Bill and he have gone down the road, uz on dem wo togedor ool d'oo we and they were together all the day.
- 3. When the subject of the principal sentence is separated from the predicate by a subordinate sentence, as: im et did to the en he who did that ought to be hanged, uz ets dun so mits for im mo guo to d'ogz for out i kooz we who have done so much for him may go to the dogs for aught he cares.

2. Possessive.

§ 351. a. Conjoint: mai, (mi) my; $\bar{a}\Theta(r)$, (we(r)) our; $\forall ai$, ($\forall i$) thy; $j\bar{a}\Theta(r)$, ($j\Theta(r)$) your; iz, is his; it its, $\bar{\Theta}(r)$, ($\Theta(r)$) her, $\forall \Theta\Theta(r)$, ($\forall \Theta(r)$) their.

The weak forms are in parentheses. As in the personal pronouns so also here the weak forms are far more frequently used than the strong ones. mi, \(\delta i, \delta e(r) \) are from the Middle English weak forms mi, \(\delta i, \delta er, \) and not Modern weakenings of the strong forms; otherwise we should have had ma, \(\delta a \) for our mi, \(\delta i, \) see \(\delta 350. \) we(r) has been formed from we after the analogy of je ye, je(r), thus je: je(r):: we: we(r). iz is used before vowels and voiced consonants and is before voiceless consonants, as iz \(\delta s \) his house, iz oen his own, iz mu\(\delta e(r) \) his mother, is koit his coat, is fa\(\delta e(r) \) his father, este s\(\delta i \) it ied w\(\delta k s \) its head aches.

§ 352. b. Absolute: main mine, āz ours, čain thine, jāz yours, iz his, its its, ēz hers, čeez theirs.

3. Reflexive.

§ 353.

FIRST PERSON.

Singular.	Plural
misen	wəsən
misel	wəsenz
miseln	wesel
	weseln

SECOND PERSON.

disen	jəsən
disel	jəsənz
diseln	jəsəl
	jəseln

THIRD PERSON.

Singular.

	*	
Masc.	Neut.	Fem.
i(s)sen	itsen	əsən
i(s)sel	itsel	esel
i(s)seln	itseln	eseln

Plural.

ŏesenzŏeselŏeseln

The stress is always on the second syllable. When these pronouns are used emphatically the stress on the second syllable is of course stronger than when they are used reflexively. All the forms -sel, -seln, -sen are often heard without any distinction in meaning.

Such a variety of forms must be quite modern, and is probably due to importation from neighbouring dialects. The -sen-forms are far more common than either of the other two. In the Eastern North Midland dialects, to which Windhill belongs (Ellis, EEPr. v. pp. 364-408), I find the following forms: -seln at Huddersfield and Halifax; -sen at Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, Sheffield, Wakefield. In this division of dialects no -self-forms seem to be known.

In order to find out the areas of the -sel, -seln, and -senforms I have carefully examined all the classified wordlists and comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v, with the following results. -sel is the only form that occurs in all the North Northern, West Northern, and East Northern dialects, except at Holderness (S.E. Yorkshire) and South Ainsty, where we find -sen. The North North Midland, West North Midland, and South North Midland dialects have only -sel. The Border Midland dialects, which embrace the county of Lincolnshire, have only the -sen-form. The -sen-form does not seem to occur south of Lincolnshire. -self is regularly found without exception in all the Eastern dialects. The Mid Southern dialects have -self, -zelf, except at Much Cowarne (nine miles N.E. of Hereford) we find -sel and in Western Dorset -zel. The North Border Southern, Mid Border Southern, and South Border Southern dialects have only -self. East Southern dialects, which embrace almost the whole of Kent, with East Sussex, examples are wanting except that -saaf, pl. -saavz occurs at Faversham (eight miles W.N.W. of Canterbury). The Northern West Southern dialects regularly have -zel. In the Southern West Southern dialects all three forms, -sel, -zel, and -self, occur. For the Western West Southern dialects examples are wanting.

The South Western dialects seem to have -self, but more examples are wanting to be certain, as only one example of the reflexive occurs in this division, viz. at Docklow (five miles E. S. E. of Leominster). For the North Western dialects there is only one example given in Ellis, viz. -sel for Pulverbach (seven miles S.W. of Shrewsbury).

wesen, etc. have been formed from the weak possessive we(r) our, which is itself a new formation, § 351. There is no difference in meaning or usage between wesen and wesenz, Sesen and desenz. jesen is used for the sing. and plural yourself, yourselves, but jesenz yourselves has always a plural meaning.

The simplex self occurs in the dialect, as a tself seem dee on the self same day.

4. Demonstrative.

§ 354.

Sing. Sis this Sat that jon yon. Plural. Siez these Sem those jon yon.

dis and disz are often followed by is(r) here, and dat, dem by dis(r), there, as dis is as wonts a lot of this house wants a lot of cleaning, dus to laik disz is(r)? dost thou like these? a kant eit dat dis meit I can't eat that meat, i ga mo dat dis koit he gave me that coat, dem disr aplz kost tupms those apples cost twopence, demz vari guid bod disz ez or o beto(r) those are very good but these are better.

Tem is the only word used for those, a form Tuez would be quite foreign to the dialect.

5. Interrogative.

§ 355.

Masc. and Fem.

Neut.

Nom., Obj. ue who

wot what, with which.

Gen. uəz whose.

uem whom is never used in the W. dialect. Beside wot we have also wor, on which see § 290.

6. Relative.

§ 356. The relative pronoun is expressed either by et for all genders and numbers, or by ue for the masc. and fem., wot for the neuter. et is invariably used when the antecedent is expressed; in other cases we always use ue, wot. Thus: im et sed suez red he who said so is wrong, tman et i soe jestede the man whom I saw yesterday, tlas et i gav e pund e aplz tul ez etn em oel the lass to whom I gave a pound of apples has eaten them all, thoilz et te bout dan i Windil e vari guid the coals which thou boughtest down in Windhill are very good, did je sī dem et did it? did you see those who did it? dem men et te so(e) i trued wer on trant those men whom thou sawest in the road were on the spree.

a no(e) uez dunt I know who has done it, we no(e) uez it iz we know whose it is, a noe wot to sez I know what thou sayest, a ken or knoges ue faz bīn wi I can guess with whom thou hast been, a duent belīv wot e sez I don't believe what he says; but a duent belīv e wēd (et) i sez I don't believe a word (that) he says.

The obj. case of \mathfrak{st} , but never of \mathfrak{us} , wot, is often omitted: tman i sos the man (whom) I saw, thoils \mathfrak{st} bout the coals (which) he bought.

et is of Norse origin and was originally only used as a conjunction with the meaning of that. But already in Old Icelandic it came to be used both as a relative pronoun and conjunction just as it still is in the W. dialect: a no(e) et im i tgeet I know that I am in the way. See Noreen, Altisländische und altnordische Grammatik, § 402. et occurs as a rel. pronoun in the Northern English dialects so early as the thirteenth century, see J. A. H. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, p. 194.

It may be useful to note here that that is never used in the dialect either as a rel. pronoun or as a conjunction.

7. Indefinite.

§ 357.

sum some, sumdi somebody, sumet (lit. somewhat) something, anything.

out aught, nout naught, nought.

inif, pl. iniu enough: gim(e) e feu, nee daz ed iniu give me a few, no thou hast had enough, eje bried inif? have you enough bread?

feu few, ivri every, ool all, els else, sitš such, uðo(r) other.

oəðə(r) (OE. āwðer) either, noeðə(r) (OE. nāwðer) neither. Cp. § 123 and see Sievers, OE. Grammar, §§ 346, 348.

oni (OE. ænig) any, onibodi anybody, moni (OE. monig, manig) many. The o in oni is due to the influence of the o in moni. The following question would be quite unintelligible to anyone but a North countryman: ez or ez oni on je oni on je? inquired a man of a company of persons, after asking two or three of them individually for a match, lit. has any on you any on you? i. e. has any of you got one?

tuen (lit. the one) one of two or more: tuen on jez dunt

one of you has done it. Strong form wun (nom.), weak form en (obj.) one, pl. enz ones, wun enute(r) one another, nue, weak form ne no, nuebdi nobody; nuen none has no weak form. nuen is often used in the place of net: am nuen bān I am not going, tat nuen tfuil et te liuks you are not the fool you look to be.

 $\mathbf{u}(\mathbf{e})$ -iv $\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ whoever, wotiv $\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ or tšiuz-wot (lit. choose-what) whatever.

CHAPTER X.

VERBS.

§ 358. The verbs are divided into two great classes:—Strong and Weak—according to the formation of the preterite and past participle. Besides these two great classes of strong and weak verbs, there are a few others which will be treated under the general heading of *Minor Groups*.

§ 359. The strong verbs form their preterite by means of ablaut. In order to facilitate the use of the book for philologists I have sub-divided them into seven classes and have adopted the order given in Sievers' Old English Grammar, §§ 382-97.

A great many verbs which were strong in OE. are now weak in the dialect; on the other hand a few, which were originally weak, have become strong. The lists contain all the strong verbs in general use. When two forms of the preterite and past participle are in existence, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets. Some verbs, which now usually have a weak preterite, still retain the old strong past participle, e.g. foseon forsaken, fretn beside frieted fretted, mourned.

There is only one form for the singular and plural of the preterite just as in lit. Engl. The present and the past participle of all classes have, as a rule, been regularly developed from their corresponding OE. forms. But the preterite of some classes, e.g. the whole of the first and second, are new formations made after the analogy of the pret. of the fourth and partly the fifth classes. Some few verbs have passed over from one class into another. All these points will be discussed in their proper places.

§ 360. The preterite and the past participle of weak verbs end in -ed, -d, -t. See §§ 380-3. Many verbs, originally weak, have both a strong and a weak past participle. See §§ 380-3.

A. Strong Verbs.

\$ 361.

CLASS I.

		CLASS 1.		
	Infin.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	<i>P. P.</i>
OE.	î	ā	i	i
W.	ai	69		i
	aid hide	bee		idn
	baid endure	bead	L	bidn
	bait bite	beet		bitn
	daiv dive	deəv	•	divm
	dlaid glide	dlee	d	dlidn
	draiv $drive$	dree	v	drivm
	kontraiv contrive	kont	reev	kontrivm
	raid ride	reəd		ridn
	rait write	reet		ritn
	raiv tear	reev		rivm
	raiz rise	reez		rizn
	slaid slide	sleed	i	slidn
	straid stride	stree	d	stridn
	straik strike	strea	ek	strukp
	straiv strive	strea	PV	strivm

Infin.	Pret. Sg. Pret. Pl.	P. P.
šain shine	šeən	šaind
šait cacare	šeət	$\check{ ext{sitn}}$
praiv thrive	þreəv	þrivm

§ 362. The pret. of all verbs of this class is a new formation. The ee can arise neither from the OE singular nor plural form. From the former we should have had ue (§ 122) and from the latter i (§ 89). The only classes of verbs which regularly have ee in the pret. are the fourth (§ 371) and part of the fifth (§ 372). To merely say that the pret. of Class I has been formed after the analogy of Class IV and part of Class V would be avoiding the real difficulty, which consists in giving a satisfactory reason why they should have had such an influence, seeing that they had no forms in common with Class I in OE. One might perhaps be inclined to think that the identity of the vowel in a pp. like 3ifenn given (Ormulum, i. 71) with that in a pp. like risenn risen (Ormulum, ii. 47) may have given rise to the new formation. But that would not do. In the dialect the pret. of gi(v) is ga(v) = Ormulum 3aff, gaff, ii. 16. At present I cannot even suggest a satisfactory explanation.

§ 363. The pp. of šain is always weak, and I have also occasionally heard a weak pret. šaind. For the pret. of straik I have often heard striuk, strak, the latter of which seems to be a shortening of the Northern ME. form strāk; the pp. of this verb corresponds to the early Mod. Engl. lit. form struken.

§ 364. aid (OE. hydan) and daiv (OE. dyfan) were weak in OE. raiv (O. Icel. rīfa) and praiv (O. Icel. prīfa) are of Norse origin. straiv (O. Fr. estriver) was already strong in ME. kontraiv must be a late borrowing from

lit. Engl., the ME. form controuen (u = v) from O. Fr. controver would not have become kontraiv in the W. dialect.

CLASS II.

§ 365. Infin.	Pret. Sq.	Pret. Pl.	P. P.		
OE. ēo	ēа	u	0		
W. ī	ϵ	ЭЭ	0		
iu (§ 187)	•	99	0		
ī	e	u	ou		
${f friz}\ freeze$	f	reez	frozn		
tlīv cleave, splin	t t	leəv	tlov m		
tšiuz choose	t	šeəz	$t\check{s}ozn$		
flī fly	f	leu	floun		

§ 366. All the other verbs, which formerly belonged to this class, have become weak.

OE. cēosan would regularly have become *tšīz (§ 187) in the dialect. tšiuz seems to be an early borrowing of the ME. West Midland form chüsen, which would regularly become tšiuz in the dialect.

The ee in the pret. is not regularly developed from OE. ēa, which has become ie (§ 179), but is due to the analogy of such verbs as weev wove, need kneaded. Just as we have the pp. wovm, nodn, pret. weev, need, so to the pp. frozn, tlovm, tšozn there has been formed a new preterite freez, tleev, tšeez.

CLASS III.

§ 367. This class had in OE. four sub-divisions:

1. Verbs having a medial nasal + a consonant.

$$3.$$
 ,, ,, r or h + ,,

4. When the stem vowel was followed by two consonants other than a nasal, l, r, or h + a consonant. Sievers, OE. Gr. §§ 386-9.

All verbs originally belonging to 2. have become weak. The same also applies to sub-divisions 3. and 4. with the exception of feit fight, and brust burst.

Infin.	Pret. Sg.	$Pret. \ Pl.$	P.P.
1. OE. i	o (a)	u	u
W. i	a		u
i	e (§ 59)		u
bəgin $begin$	bəgan		begun
${f spin}\ spin$	span		spun
\mathbf{swim} $swim$	swom §	58 (swam)	swum
$old win \ win$	wan (wo	n)	wun
bind bind	ban		bun
$\mathbf{find}\mathit{find}$	fan		fun
wind $wind$	wan (wo	on)	wun
$\operatorname{run} run$	ran		run
2. $brin\ bring$	brep		brup
din reproach, revile	ceb		dup
flip $throw$	flep		flup
in hang	ဓာ		นก
old ring	ren		rup
$oldsymbol{rin} g$	rep		rup
$\sin sing$	sep		sup
$oldsymbol{sling}$	slep		slup
$oldsymbol{ ext{sprin}} g$	spren		sprup
$oldsymbol{sting}$	step		stup
$oldsymbol{string}$	strep		strup
swip $swing$	cews		swup
tlip $cling$	tlen		tlup
$drink \ drink$	drenk		drukp

Infin. Pre	et. Sg. Pre	et. Pl.	P.P.
$\mathbf{sink}\ sink$	senk		sukp
${f slink} \; slink$	slenk		slukp
$oldsymbol{stink}$	stepk		stukp
šripk shrink	šrenk		šrukp
Infin.	Pret.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
3. W. Sax. eo	еа	u	0
O. North. e	æ	u	0
W. ei (§ 87)	69		О
$\mathbf{feit}\mathit{fight}$	fe	ət	fotn
Infin.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
4. OE. e	æ	u	0
W. u	8	ã.	u
brust burst	1	orast	brusn
þrust thrust	}	rast	þrusn

§ 368. On the present form run, see Sweet NE. Gr. § 1382. The pret. and pp. ban, fan, wan and bun, fun, wun are very widely spread in the Midland and Northern dialects, see the Word-lists in Ellis, EEPr. v. The pret. bren and pp. brun are no doubt new formations after the analogy of forms like sen, sun; the weak pret. and pp. brout is also much used, but is not so common as the strong forms. in (ME. hengen, O. Icel. hengja) and rin (OE. (h)ringan) were originally weak verbs. din (O. Icel. dengja), flin (O. Icel. flengja), slin (O. Icel. slöngva) are of Norse origin. strin seems to be quite a modern formation from the noun.

The pp. of verbs whose stem ends in pk regularly lose the medial guttural p in the W. dialect. I have assumed in the Phonology (§ 274) that p has disappeared through assimilation before the following kp in the pp. of these verbs. This is possible and not at all improbable; but we must not exclude the possibility that some of these pp. may be

of Norse origin, e.g. druke (O. Icel. drukkenn), suke (O. Icel. sokkenn), and that the remaining pk-verbs may have followed the analogy of these. This is a point well worth investigating, but of the five verbs ending in -pk in the present and preterite, Ellis has unfortunately only the pp. of dripk, and I have accordingly read through all his Word-lists, Dialect tests, and Comparative Specimens to see how far the form without medial p in the pp. extends. The following is the result: The medial p is retained in all the Eastern, Western, and Southern dialects, with the exception of South Devon (Ellis, p. 163), which is probably a mistake on the part of Dr. Ellis' informant. All the Border Midland, Southern, North Midland, Western Mid Midland, Eastern Mid Midland, East Mid Midland, Western South Midland, Eastern South Midland, Northern North Midland, and Western North Midland dialects have medial p except at Colne Valley and at Burnley, where double forms—without and with medial p—seem to occur (pp. 334 and 351). In the Eastern North Midland division to which my own dialect belongs the form without medial p is found at Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury which have drufen, at Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Rotherham, Elland, and Calverley where the nasal has disappeared before the following k; but medial poccurs at Barnsley, Sheffield, and Marsden (seven miles S. W. of Huddersfield). In the East Northern division, Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washam River district, South Cleveland, North East Coast, Danby and Skelton in Cleveland, and Whitby, all have the form without medial p, but Market Weighton, Holderness, Malton, Pickering, and The Moors, Sutton and Goole retain the medial guttural nasal. All the West Northern dialects-for which there are a great number of examples in Ellis-lose the

medial p except at Upper Swaledale. The same is also the case for the North Northern dialects, except that at Newcastle-on-Tyne the medial p seems to exist (Ellis, p. 647). For the Lowland division of English dialect districts in Scotland only forms without medial p are registered. It is however important to note that Dr. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, has pp. drunk beside drukken, and only slunk, stunk, sunk, schrunk (scrynkit). This would certainly seem to favour the idea that our drukp is of Norse origin, and that the pp. of the four other verbs have been formed after the analogy of it.

In feet fought the vowel of the singular seems to have been carried over to the plural at an early period. The latter form then became generalized. The short o in the pp. is quite regular (§ 100).

On the forms brust, brust, brusn see Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1354, and on prust (ME. prusten, prusten, O. Icel. prysta) see loc. cit. § 1348.

CLASS IV.

§ 369.				
i	Infin.	Pret. Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
W. Sax.	θ	æ	æ	0
O. North.	е	æ	ē	0
1. W.	ei (§ 87)	еә	(§ 70)	ou (§ 103)
	steil $steal$	ste	əl	stoun
2. W.	iə (§ 75)	69		oə (§ 104 <i>u</i>)
	bio(r) bear	bed	$\Theta(\mathbf{r})$	boən
	swie(r) swee	ar sw	ee(r)	swoon
	šio(r) shear	šee	$\mathbf{p}(\mathbf{r})$	šoen
	wio(r) wear	we	$\Theta(\mathbf{r})$	woon
3. W.	e (§ 88)	a		0
	brek break	bra	ık	brokn

§ 370. To this class also belongs kum (OE. cuman) come, kom (kam), kum (kumd).

136

§ 371. wie(r) (OE. werian) was originally a weak verb, but has become strong after the analogy of bie(r), šie(r). Similarly swie(r) (OE. swerian, pret. sing. swor) has passed over from the sixth class into this.

The ee in the preterite is due to levelling. The vowel of the pret. singular of strong verbs was often extended to the plural already in ME. Then this a being in an open syllable became lengthened and was afterwards levelled out into the singular; so that the preterites with ee in this and the fifth class are really generalized plural stem-forms. The old pret. pl. form with ee (e) would have become e in the dialect, e 130. On the other hand, brak is the old sing. form. The same is also the case with the e in the pret. of verbs of Class V.

CLASS V.					
§ 372.	T 0		0.1	770	
	Infin.	Pret.	Sg.	Pret. Pl.	P.P.
W. Sax.	е	æ		æ	Θ
O. North.	Θ	æ		ē	е
1. W.	ei (§ 87)		еө (§	371)	0
	neid knead		need		nodn
	speik speak	;	speel	k (spak)	s pok n
	spreid spre	ad	spre	ed	sprodn
	treid tread		treed	l.	trodn
	weiv weave		weev		wovm
2. W.	ei (§ 87)		69		e (§ 73)
	$\operatorname{eit}\ eat$		eet		etn
3. W.	e (§ 88)		a (§ 3	371)	e (§ 73)
	get get		gat		getn
4. W.	i (§ 77)		a (§ :	371)	ī
	gi(v)		ga(v)		gīn (§ 79)

- 1. spreid was a weak verb in OE. (sprædan, pret. sprædde). The pp. of this sub-division have been formed after the analogy of verbs of the fourth class. The pret. spak is very often heard.
- 2. The pret. eet is a new formation made after the analogy of weiv, etc. The OE. form sing. æt, pl. æton would have become *it (§ 130).
- 4. Instead of gīn I have very often heard gen, which is no doubt due to the influence of etn, getn.

§ 373	•				
v	Infin.	Pret.	Sg. Pr	et. Pl.	P.P.
W. Sax.	i	æ		ē e	,
O. North.	i	æ		ē e	•
1. W.	i		a (§ 371)) i	
	bid invite to a	ifuneral	bad	ł	oidn
	it hit		at	i	\mathbf{tn}
	nit knit		nat	r	nitn
	sit sit		sat	8	itn
	${f slit}$ $slit$		slat	s	litn
	spit spit		spat	s	pitn
	split split		splat	s	plitn
2. W.	i		e (§ 59)	υ	ι
	$\operatorname{dig} dig$		deg	Ċ	lug
3. W.	i		a	υ	ι
	stik stick		stak	S	tuk

- 1. it (O. Icel. hitta find), nit, slit, spit, split were originally weak verbs. I have also often heard the weak pret. and pp. nited; bidn (OE. beden, but already ME. bidden with i from the present), sitn (OE. seten, but already ME. siten).
- 2. dig was formerly weak (ME. diggen, diggede). The pp. dug is difficult to explain. According to Sweet, NE.

Gr. § 1370, the lit. form dug does not occur until towards the end of the Early Modern English period (1500–1650). The pp. dugp is also sometimes heard.

3. stik (OE. stician) was originally a weak verb. The pp. stuk may owe its u to the influence of stup, Sweet, NE. Gr. § 1376.

§ 374. To this class also belongs sī (OE. sēon) see, pret. soe (§ 63), pp. sīn = Old North. gesēn.

	CLASS VI.	
§ 375.	_	
Infin.	Pret.	P. P.
OE. a	ō	a
1. W. a (§ 71)	iu (§ 164)	eə (§ 312, 4)
tak tuke	tiuk	teen
2. W. oə (§ 63)	iu (§ 164 c)	09
${f droe} \ drav$	v driu	droən
3. W. a	ui (§ 163)	ui
stand $stan$	nd stuid	stuidn

stuidn has its vowel from the preterite. A weak pret. and pp. standed is not uncommon. I have also heard a pp. studn, the vowel of which seems to be due to the influence of the literary form stood.

§ 376.		
Infin.	Pret.	P.P.
OE. ēa	ō	a(x)
W. ee	iu (§ 164 c)	өə (§ 65)
slee $slay$	sliu	sleən

The ee of the present is from the past participle. šak shake generally has the weak pret. and pp. šakt; but pret. šiuk (§ 164) and pp. šakp are not uncommon. The pp. of fesak forsake is feseen (§ 312, 4).

CLASS VII.

§ 377.		
Infin.	Pret.	P.P.
OE. ā	ēo	ā
W. oə (§ 123)	iu (§ 190)	09
bloe $blow$	bliu	bloən
kroə crow	kriu	kroən
moə mow	miu	moən
noə know	niu	noən
${f snoe}\ snow$	sniu	snoon
soə sow	siu	soən
þoə thaw	þiu	þoən
þ ro ð throw	þriu	þroən

poe was a weak verb in OE. (pāwian or pāwan); snoe (OE. snāw) is the noun used as a verb, which has formed its pret. and pp. after the analogy of the other verbs of this class.

♦ 378.		
Infin.	Pret.	P. P.
OE. ō	ēo	ō
W. ou (§ 166)	iu (§ 190)	ou
grou grow	griu	groun
§ 379.		
Infin.	Pret.	P. P.
OE. ea(a)	ēo	ea(a)
W. oə (§ 62)	e (§ 192 a)	09
fool $fall$	fel	fooln

B. Weak Verbs.

§ 380. The weak verbs are best classified according to their formation of the preterite and past participle. We thus distinguish three classes:—1. -ed, 2. -d, 3. -t.

Paragraphs 381-3 contain a fairly complete list of verbs which either differ from literary English in the preterite and past participle, or are interesting from other points of view. When the pret. or pp. has two forms, the less usual one is enclosed in brackets.

CLASS I.

§ 381. The preterite and past participle generally take -ed when the present ends in -t or -d. But a few verbs with short stem-vowels, whose present ends in -t, have the same form in the pret. and past participle; and a few others with a long stem vowel in the present have a short vowel in the pret. and pp.

Infin.	Pret.	P.P.
bend bend	bended (bent)	bended (bent)
${f b\bar{\imath}ld}$ $build$	belt (bīldəd)	belt (bīldəd)
blīd bleed	blīdəd (bled)	blīded (bled)
bluid bleed	bluided	bluidəd
brīd breed	brīdəd (bred)	brīded (bred)
ē t hurt	ēt (ēted)	ēt (ētn)
$\mathbf{f}\bar{\mathbf{i}}\mathbf{d}feed$	fīdəd (fed)	fīdəd (fədn)
grund grind	grundəd	grundəd
kest cast	kest (kested)	kested (kesn)
lied lead	liədəd (led)	liədəd (ledn)
\mathbf{melt} $melt$	melted	melted
od hold	oded (eld)	odn (odød)
send send	sended (sent)	sended (sent)
skrat scratch	skratəd	skrated (skratn)
spend spend	spended (spent)	spended (spent)
$reve{s}$ uit $shoot$	šuited	šuited (šotn)
kost cost	kost (kosted)	kost (kosted)
kut cut	kut	kut (kutn)

Infin.	Pret.	P.P.
let let	let	let (letn)
put put	put	put (putn)
set set	set	set (setn)
šut shut	šut	šut (šutn)
wed marry	wed	wed (wedn)
wet wet	wet (weted)	wet (weted, wetn)
līt $light$	let (līted)	let (letn, lîted)
\mathbf{mit} $meet$	met	met (metn)
rīd read	red	red
tīm pour out	tem (temd)	tem (temd)
biet beat	bet	bet (betn)
$\mathbf{friet}\ fret$	${f frieted}$ ${f (fret)}$	frieted (fretn)
swiet sweat	swieted (swet)	swieted (swetn)
t $lpha$ iet $cheat$	tšieted (tšet)	tšieted (tšetn)
triet $treat$	tret (trieted)	$\operatorname{tretn} (\operatorname{trieted})$

When I was a boy pret. and pp. forms like bent, bled, led, spent, etc., were hardly ever heard, but through the spread of elementary education they are now much used, especially among the younger generation, and will no doubt in the course of time entirely supplant the other forms. In like manner the strong pp. kesn, putn, fretn, etc., were far more common twenty years ago than they are now.

Forms like let *lit*, *lighted*, belt have been formed after the analogy of such pret. as met, red, etc., where the vowel was shortened before the double consonants (e.g. pret. mette) already in ME.

CLASS II.

§ 382. The preterite and past participle generally take -d when the present ends in a voiced sound other than -d.

Infin.	Pret.	P.P.
bən $burn$	bēnd	bēnd
briu $brew$	briud	briud (briun)
diel deal	diəld (delt)	dield (delt)
$\mathbf{driem}\ dream$	driemd (dremt)	driemd (dremt)
eာ $hang$	end	end
eu hew	eud	eud (eun)
${f fil}\ feel$	fīld (felt)	fīld (felt)
ie(r) hear	iəd	ied
leə lay	leəd	leəd (leən)
lein $lean$	leind	leind
len lend	lend	lend
lien learn	liend	liend
liov leave	lievd (left)	lievd (left)
lig lie down	ligd	ligd
loiz $lose$	loizd (lost)	loizd (lost)
mien mean	miend (ment)	miend (ment)
\mathbf{n} il $kneel$	nīld (nelt)	nīld (nelt)
riu rue	riud	riud (riun)
see say	sed	sed
$\mathbf{sel}\ sell$	seld	seld
seu sew	seud	seud (seun)
siez seize	siezd ($seez$)	siəzd
$\mathbf{smel}\ smell$	smeld	smeld
$\mathbf{spel}\ spell$	speld	speld
$\mathbf{spil}\ spill$	spild	spild
${f spoil}$	spoild	spoild
${f strew}$	streud	streud (streun)
\mathbf{swell}	sweld	sweld
šeev shave	šeəvd	šeevd
šeu show	šeud	šeud (šeun)
šū shoe	šūd	šūd
tel tell	teld	teld

Infin.	Pret.	P. P.
tlueð elothe	tlueðd	tlueðd
tšeu chew	tšeud	tšeud (tšeun)
woko wake, awake	wokpd	wokpd
gue go	went	guən °
bai buy	bout	bout

The forms delt, felt, left, lost, ment, nelt, and in Class III krept, slept, swept, are the literary forms which are now very commonly used among the younger people.

We regularly use lee, leed, leed (leen) in speaking of a hen, pigeon, etc.; but in other cases lee and lig are equally used transitively or intransitively without any distinction in meaning: al lig i bed wol brekfes(t) taim I will lie in bed until breakfast time, al lig me dan I will lie (me) down, al lig it e tflue(r) I will lay it on the floor, de leed or ligd wol de we te lat fe de wak they lay until they were too late for their work, wi ligd or leed ez dan we lay down, dev leed (ligd or leen) oel theem et mi they laid all the blame on me.

CLASS III.

§ 383. The preterite and past participle generally take t when the present ends in a voiceless consonant other than t.

Infin.	Pret.	P. P.
$elp \ help$	elpt	elpt
katš catch	katšt	katšt
krīp creep	$\mathtt{kript}\;(\mathtt{krept})$	krīpt (krepm, krept)
kus kiss	kust	kust (kusn)
reik reach	reikt	reikt
slīp sleep	slīpt (slept)	slīpt (slept)
swip sweep	swipt (swept)	swipt swept

Infin.	Pret.	P.P.
šap shape	šapt	šapt
teitš teach	teitšt (tout)	teitšt (tout)
weš wash	wešt	wešt
pīp peep	$\mathtt{pept}\;\big(\mathtt{p}\bar{\imath}\mathtt{pt}\big)$	${f pept} \; ig({f pipt}ig)$
sīk seek	$s\bar{\imath}kt \; (sout)$	sīkt (sout)
þink $think$	þout	þout
wāk work	wākt (rout)	wēkt (rout)
mak make	meed	meəd

Verbal Endings.

§ 384.

Present: The first person singular and the whole of the plural generally have no special endings, except when the subject of the sentence is a relative pronoun. See § 395, p. 156. The second and third persons singular end in -ez, -z, -s. -ez is used after the spirants s, z, š, ž, as misez missest, misses, raizez risest, rises, wišez wishest, wishes, sinžez singest, singes; -z after voiced sounds, as weivz weavest, weaves, lenz lendest, lends, duz dost, does; -s after other voiceless sounds, as elps helpest, helps, wēks workest, works, eits eatest, eats.

On the personal endings of the verbs have and be, see $\S\S$ 395, 6.

Preterite: The singular and plural of strong verbs have no special endings. The singular and plural of weak verbs end in -ed, -d, -t for all persons. See §§ 380, 385.

Participles: The present participle ends in -in (§§ 276, 385). The past participle of strong verbs ends in vocalic -n after dentals (§ 269), -p after gutturals (§ 271), and -m after labials (§ 270). The past participle of weak verbs ends in -ed, -d, -t. See §§ 381-3.

Infinitive: The infinitive has no special ending just as in lit. Engl.

Paradigms.

§ 385. The conjugation of en hang and brek break will serve as models.

Indic. Pres. Si	ing. 1.	eာ	brek
	2.	enz	breks
	3.	enz	breks
. P.	lur.	en	brek
Indic. Pret. Si	ing.	end	brak
P	lur.	end	brak
Imper. Sing. and P	lur.	ep	brek
In	fin.	en	brek
Pres. P	art.	enin	brekin
Past P	art.	end	brokp

§ 386. The future, the perfect tenses, and the passive voice are formed the same as in lit. Engl. The subjunctive mood has entirely gone out of use.

§ 387. TABLE OF TENSES.

Tense.	Indefinite.	Imperfect and Continuous.	Perfect.	Perfect and Continuous.	
Present	a brek I break	am brekin I am breaking	av brokn I have broken	av bĭn brekin I have been break- ing	
Preterite	a brak I broke	a we brekin I was breaking	ad brokn I had broken	ad bĭn brekin I had been break- ing	
Future	as brek I shall break	as bĭ brekin I shall be breaking	as e brokn I shall have broken	as e bĭn brekin I shall have been breaking	

NOTE.—The full conjugation of the auxiliary verbs will be found: shall (\$ 391), will (\$ 397), be (\$ 396), have (\$ 395).

C. Minor Groups.

a. Preterite-Presents.

§ 388. In tenses where it has been thought advisable I have added the affirmative and interrogative forms with and without negation. On the various forms assumed by the personal pronouns, see § 350.

I. can.

§ 389. Pres. strong form kan, weak forms ken, kp. Pret. strong form kud, weak ked. The weak form kp is mostly used in combination with the personal pronouns.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.	Plur.
ai, a, i kan or ko	wĭ, wə kan or ko
ðă, tă, te "	jī, jə ,, ,,
$\breve{\mathbf{i}}, \boldsymbol{\Theta}$, , , , $\breve{\mathbf{x}}\breve{\mathbf{o}}, \ \breve{\mathbf{x}}\breve{\mathbf{e}}$, , , ,	ඊ eə, ඊ ə, ඊ ə ,, ,,
šů, šə) " "	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,

Pret.

ai, a, i	kud or k	bez	$w\breve{i}, we$	kud or l	kød
ðă, tă, tə	,,	,,	jĭ. jө	;;	,,
Ĭ, e	1)	,,	ŏеө, ŏө,	χ̈́ο	
šŭ, šə	11	11	000, 00,	00	"

Affirmatively with not.

Pres. Pret.

ai, a, i, kanet or kānt ai, a, i kudnt or kednet etc. etc.

kud ai, a, i?

etc.

kud wĭ, we?

etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.			Plur.
kan ai, a, i?		kan	wĭ, wə?
" ðā, tā, tə?		"	jĭ, jə?
$\left. egin{array}{ll} ,, & reve{ ilde{ t i}}, eta ? \\ ,, & reve{ t sreve{ t u}}, reve{ t se} ? \end{array} ight. ight.$			ŏеө, ŏе, ŏө
" šŭ, še?∫		"	000, 00, 00
	Pret.		

Interrogatively with not.

Pres	Pret.
kanət or kānt ai, a, i?	kudnt ai, a, i?
etc.	etc.

kud, kød are used both as an infin. and past part., unless, as is more probable, the use of kud, kød, in such cases, is due to the contamination of two constructions, as a ius to kud or kød diut I used to be able to do it, ad o dunt if id kud (never kød) I would have done it if I had been able.

2. dare.

§ 390. This verb presents no special peculiarities. I shall therefore only give the first person singular of each tense in use. The final t regularly disappears in the pret. before the following negative. A weak form do only occurs in the phrase a do see I dare say.

Present.	Pret.
ai, a, i dāə(r)	ai, a, i d -
ai, a, i dārənt	ai, a, i, d ŏ sn
dāər ai, i?	d ě st ai, i?
dārent ai, i?	d - snt ai, i?

3. shall.

§ 391. Present strong form sal, weak sl, s. Pret. strong form sud, weak sed, st.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

 $\begin{array}{c} Sing. \\ \text{ai, a sal} \\ \text{aisl, asl} \\ \text{ais, as} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{ai, a sal} \\ \text{aisl, asl} \\ \text{ais, as} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{ŏă sal} \\ \text{ŏăsl} \\ \text{ŏăsl} \\ \text{ŏăsl} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{ŏăsl} \\ \text{ŏăsl} \\ \text{isl} \\ \text{isl} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{ŏee, ŏe, ŏe sal} \\ \text{ŏeesl, ŏesl, ŏesl} \\ \text{ŏees, ŏes, ŏes} \\ \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c} \text{ŏees, ŏes, ŏes} \\ \end{array}$

Pret.

ai, a, i sud or sed }
aist, ast

ðă, tă, te sud or sed }
ðāst

Ť, e sud or sed }

št

št, še sud or sed }

wĭ, wə sud or səd
wĭst, wəst
jĭ, jə sud or səd
jĭst, jəst

) dee, de, de sud or sed deest, dest, dest

Affirmatively with not.

Present.

Sing.

ai, a saint

ai, a sant

aisl, asl net

ais, as net

ðä salnt or sānt ðäsl, ðäs net

šalnt, sānt
šsl, šs net
šŭ, še salnt or sānt
šūsl, šesl net
šūs, šes net

Plur.

wĭ, wə, salnt
wĭ, wə sānt
wĭsl, wəsl nət
wĭs, wəs nət
jĭ, jə salnt or sānt
jĭsl, jəsl nət
jĭs, jəs nət

Öee, öe, öe salnt or sant
,,,,,,, slnet
öees, öes, öes net

Pret.

ai, a sudnt
ai, a sed net
aist, ast net
etc.

 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} w\breve{\mathtt{i}},\ w\mathtt{o}\ sudnt \\ w\breve{\mathtt{i}},\ w\mathtt{o}\ s\mathtt{o}d\ n\mathtt{o}t \\ w\breve{\mathtt{i}}\mathsf{st},\ w\mathtt{o}\mathsf{s}t\ n\mathtt{o}t \\ \end{array} \right.$

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

sal ai, a, i?
,, ŏă, tă, te?
,, ĭ, e?
,, šŭ, še?

sal wĭ, wə ? ,, jĭ, jə ?

" წიი, წი, წი?

Pret.

sud ai, a, i?
,, Šă, tă, te?
,, ĭ, e?
,, šŭ, še?

sud wĭ, wə?
,, jĭ, jə?

,, ზөө, ზө, ზө ?

Interrogatively with not.

Pres.

Pret.

salnt, sānt ai, a, i?

sudnt ai, a, i?

etc.

etc.

There is no difference in meaning between the weak forms s, st and sl, sed, but only in usage. The former are never used except in combination with the personal pronouns, as a set bi te-moen I shall have it by to-morrow, best e guen if bed kud they should have gone if they had been able, tmen sl (never s) et the men shall have it, bi fabe sed gim(e) e feu thy father should give me a few. But the difference in use between s and sl, st and sed in combination with pronouns seems to be due to sentence rhythm.

4. must.

§ 392. To express lit. Engl. *must*, we have two words which are never confounded in use:

1. Strong form mun, weak men which expresses a necessity dependent upon the will of a person, as a men get mi wāk duin bi te-nīt I must get my work done by to-night, je men tel im wen e kumz et as bi bak inā you must tell him when he comes that I shall be back presently, mun i gue wi je? must I yo with you?

mun, men is sometimes used to express may, can, as da men pink wot to laiks bed dal e to diut you may think what you like but you will have to do it, mun do stop? may mean either must they stop? or may they stop?

The weak form med (§ 393), which generally means might, is also used as a preterite of mun, as šu sed de med oeder eit dat e diu bat out she said they must either eat that or do without anything.

mun is of Norse origin, O. Icel. inf. mono, later munu

shall, will, pres. sing. mon, later mun, pl. monom, later munum, pret. munda. The verb presents no peculiarities, so that only the first person is given here.

Sing.

ai, a, i mun or men ", " " munet or muent mun'ai, a, i? munet or muent ai, a, i? Plur.

wi, we mun or men " " munet or muent mun wĭ, we? munet or muent wi, we?

2. For must we use must, which has no weak form, when it implies a logical or natural necessity, as da must bi e fuil if to pinks im ban to diut you must be (surely you are) a fool if you think I am going to do it, dem et sed dat must bi rep i der ied those who said that must be wrong in their heads. In these and similar cases mun, mon is never used. Cp. To must kum Tis wee = Lowland Scotch thay byd cum thys way with to men kum tis wee-Lowland Scotch thay man cum this way; the former implying that there is no other road, the latter that they are under personal restraint to take this road. On the Scotch verbs byd, mæn see The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, by Dr. Murray, pp. 217-8.

5. may.

§ 393. Present strong form mee, weak me. Preterite strong form mud, weak med. mud is a new formation made after the analogy of sud should, kud could.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.

ai, a, i mee or me etc.

Plur.

wĭ, we mee or me etc.

Pret.

Sing.

ai, a, i mud or med

etc.

Plur.

wĭ, we mud or med

etc.

Affirmatively with not.

Pres.

Pret.

ai, a, i meent

" " " mənət

etc.

ai a, i mudnt

" " " mudnet

etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.

me ai, a, i? mee dă, tă, te?

etc.

Plur.

mee wĭ, we?

etc.

The e of mee regularly disappears before a following vowel (§ 193). After the analogy of me i? may I? me e? may he? I have often heard me we? may we? etc.

Pret.

mud ai, a, i?

etc.

mud wĭ, wə?

etc.

Interrogatively with not.

Pres.

Pret.

meent ai, a, i?

mudnt ai, a, i?

etc.

etc.

6. ought.

§ 394. out remains uninflected for all persons, so that it will be sufficient to give the first person only: ai, a, i out, outnt or outnot. out ai, a, i? outnt ai, a, i?

b. have.

§ 395. Pres. strong forms ev, e, weak ev, e. Pret. strong form ed, weak ed.

The vowel disappears in the weak forms ev, ed when preceded by the nom. of the personal pronouns, av I have, wiv we have, etc. ad sin im I had seen him, but then ed sin im the men had seen him. And sometimes the verb disappears altogether, as a fair on em I have five of them, be guen uem they have gone home, be stoun em they have stolen them, wi or we funt we have found it; but wi or we fant we found it. See § 249.

The final -z in the second and third persons singular becomes -s before voiceless consonants, as este? hast thou? if tes te diut if thou hast to do it.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

	Present.
Sing.	Plur.
ai, a, i ev or e aiv, av, iv	wĭ we ev or e
aiv, av, iv	
ðă, tă, to ez)	jĭ, je ev or e jĭv, jev
ðă, tă, tə əz) ðăz, tăz, təz }	l jĭv, jev
Ĭ, e, ez)	
ĭz, ez	∫ ŏe, ŏe ev or e deev, ŏev, ŏev
$\left\{reve{f i},m{\Theta},m{\Theta}{f z}\right\} \\ \left\{reve{f i}{f z},m{\Theta}{f z}\right\} \\ \left\{reve{f x}reve{f u},reve{f x}m{\Theta}m{\Theta}{f z}\right\} \\ \left\{reve{f x}reve{f u}{f z},reve{f x}m{\Theta}{f z}\right\}$	deev, dev, dev
šūz, šez	

Pret.

Sing.

ai, a, i, ed
aid, ad, id

ðă, tă te ed

ðăd, tăd, ted

Ť, e, ed

Ťd, ed

šŭ, še ed

Plur. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \mathbf{w}\mathbf{\breve{i}}, \ \mathbf{we} \ \mathbf{ed} \\ \mathbf{w}\mathbf{\breve{i}d}, \ \mathbf{wed} \\ \mathbf{j}\mathbf{\breve{i}}, \ \mathbf{je} \ \mathbf{ed} \\ \end{array} \right\}$

∫ 5e, 5e ed∫ 5eed, 5ed, 5ed

Infin. ev, e ev, e

ev, e

Present Part. evin

Past ,, ed, ed, d.

Affirmatively with not.

Pres.

ai, a, i evnt aiv, av, iv net detc. Pret.

{ ai, a, i ednt aid, ad, id net

etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

Sing.

ev ai, a, i?

ez ŏă, es tă or te?

ez ĭ or e?

es šŭ, es še?

eše?

Plur.
e wĭ or we?
e jĭ or je?

e dee, de or de ?

Pret.

ed ai, a, i? etc.

ed wĭ, we?

Interrogatively with not.

Pres.
evnt ai, a, i?
etc.

156

Pret.
ednt ai, a, i?
etc.

The plural forms of the present, given above, are only used in combination with the personal pronouns, in other cases we use ez, ez, z, s (after voiceless consonants) just as in the second and third person singular, as dem menz bin vari guid to me those men have been very good to me, tladz ez gen me sumet the boys have given me something, uz ets dun so mits for im we who have done so much for him, ez dem men sin do? have those men seen thee? es taplz guen bad? have the apples gone bad? The same also applies to the first person, as its mi ets dunt it is I who have done it, mi ets ed so mits to baid I who have had so much to endure.

The endings -z, -s for the whole of the singular and plural are now chiefly confined to the verbs have and be (except the second person singular).

With other verbs we now generally only use these endings in combination with the relative pronoun et, as dem men diu de wāk vari wīl those men do their work very well; but demz tmen et duz de wāk thest those are the men who do their work the best. Although this is the normal usage, I have often heard the -z, -s forms used under the same circumstances as they are for the verb have. In the older stage of the dialect the endings -z, -s must have been used for all verbs in the manner they are still used for have. Already in OE, the Northern dialects had the plural ending -as beside -ad, e.g. bindas beside bindad.

As it may possibly interest some readers to learn how far the plural endings -z and -s extend, I have examined the Comparative dialect specimens in Ellis, EEPr. v. The

second and sixth sentences contain the point in question. The sentences are: (2) 'Few men die because they are laughed at.' In the dialect specimens this is often rendered as if it were: 'there are few men who die because they are laughed at.' In the statistics given below, this sentence will be referred to as without relative and ending, without relative with ending, with relative and no ending, with relative and ending. The sixth sentence is: (6) 'And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now.'

Western Mid Southern division: at Tedbury with rel. and ending -z; at Ledbury and Much Cowarne without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and endings -s -z; at Eggleton rel. with ending -z. Eastern Mid Southern: at Hamstead Norris without rel. and ending, but (6) rel. without ending; Southampton to Winchester without rel. with ending -z and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Northern Border Southern: at Banbury without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Border Southern: at Handborough rel. and endings -z, -s. Southern Border Southern: no examples. East Southern: at Faversham without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Northern West Southern: at Wellington (West Somerset) (6) with rel. and no ending. South West Southern: at Iddesleigh without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also in South Devon. Western West Southern: no examples. South and North Western divisions: no examples. Eastern: at Aylesbury (p. 190) father and mother n = arelame. Mid Eastern: at Ware without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending, the same also for Mid Bedfordshire and East Haddon. South and North Eastern divisions: no examples. East Eastern: in South Norfolk, East and West Suffolk without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Border Midland (the county of

Lincolnshire): no examples. Southern North Midland: at Stalybridge without rel. with ending -n, and (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Glossop with rel. and ending -n, and (6) with rel. and er along with the pres. part.; at Chapel-en-le-Frith (2 and 6) with rel. and ending -n. Western North Midland: at Skelmersdale (2 and 6) rel. and endings -z, -s; at Westhoughton without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and iz along with the pres. part.; at Leyland without rel. with ending -n; at Burnley without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and -s along with the pres. part. Northern North Midland: at Poulton without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and -s; at Goosnargh without rel. and ending, but (6) with rel. and iz along with the pres. part. North Midland: at Huddersfield, Halifax, Keighley, Bradford, Leeds, Dewsbury, Rotherham, both in (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s; but at Sheffield without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. Western Mid Midland: at Middlewich both (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n; the same at Shrigley; at Tarporley (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Burslem (6) with rel. and ending -s. Eastern Mid Midland: at Taddington rel. with ending -n, and (6) rel. with ending -s; at Ashford rel. with ending -z, and (6) rel. with iz along with the pres. part.; at Winster (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s; at Ashbourne rel. with ending -z, also without rel. with ending -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Brampton (2) and (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Repton (2) and (6) with rel. and endings East and Western South Midland divisions: no -z and -s. Eastern South Midland: at Cannock Chase examples. without rel. and ending -n, but (6) with rel. and ending -n; at Dudley without rel. with ending -z; at Atherstone (2) and (6) with rel. and no ending, at Waltham without rel. and ending; and (6) with rel. and no

ending. East Northern: at South Ainsty and Holderness without rel. with ending, -z, and (6) with rel. and ending -s. Mid Yorkshire, North Mid Yorkshire, New Malton, Lower Nidderdale, Washburn River, South Cleveland, North East Coast, and Market Weighton, all have (2) and (6) with rel. and endings -z, -s. West Northern: at Upper Swaledale, the Upper Mining Dales, Upper Craven with Upper Nidderdale, Skipton, and Mid Craven, we have for (6) rel. with ending -s; at Hawes, Kirkby, Lonsdale, Dent, Sedburg, Kendal, Orton, Kirkby Stephen, Crosby Ravensworth, Langwathby, and Keswick, we have the form without rel. with ending -z; but at Lower-Holker-in-Cartmel, Coniston, Long Sleddale, Temple Sowerby, Clifton, Holme Cultram, Carlisle, and Knaresdale without rel. and ending; at Milburn, Ellonby, and Upper Swaledale with rel. and ending -z. All the dialects in this division have for (6) rel. with ending -s except at Coniston, where we have with rel. and no ending. North Northern: at South Shields (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Newcastle and Berwick-upon-Tweed without rel. and ending, and (6) with rel. and no ending. The Lowland division: at Bewcastle, Hawick, Edinburgh, Arbroath, Keith, and Dunrossness without rel. and with ending -z, but (6) with rel. and ending -s; at Stranraer and Wick without rel. and ending, but for (6) with rel. and no ending. The above are the only comparative specimens of the Lowland division given in Ellis. But Dr. Murray, The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland, pp. 211-2, states that the plural and first pers. singular without -s are only used when the verb is accompanied by its proper pronoun; when the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination -s in all persons. Dr. Murray informs me that the persons who

supplied Dr. Ellis with the comparative specimens for Stranraer and Wick have given inaccurate versions with regard to the verbal endings. The probability is that Dr. Ellis has misunderstood the versions, because in a note (p. 683) he distinctly says that he took down the two versions hurriedly, and was afraid that some of the finer shades might have escaped him.

c. be.

§ 396. The vowel disappears in the weak forms of the present, and when followed by a consonant the verb disappears altogether in the plural, as wil gue wen tet rediwe will go when thou art ready, der at it egien they are at it again; but de ban uem they are going home, we selin em et oepni e kweet we are selling them at a halfpenny a quart. The -z in the third person becomes -s before and after voiceless consonants, as thried et to bouts nuen guid the bread which thou boughtest is not good, see pinkin e gu(e)in she is thinking of going.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.		
	Sing.	Plur.
	ai, a, i am	$\left\{egin{array}{l} \mathbf{w}oldsymbol{ar{i}},\ \mathbf{w}oldsymbol{ar{a}}oldsymbol{e}(\mathbf{r}) \ \mathbf{w}oldsymbol{ar{i}}(\mathbf{r}),\ \mathbf{w}oldsymbol{e}(\mathbf{r}) \end{array} ight.$
	aim, am, im	$\mathbf{\tilde{q}}(\mathbf{r}),\mathbf{w}_{\mathbf{\Theta}}(\mathbf{r})$
	dă āt, to āt	$\int \mathbf{j} reve{\mathbf{i}}, \mathbf{j} m{e} ar{\mathbf{a}} m{e}(\mathbf{r})$
	ðă āt, te āt ðăt, tăt, tet	$\left\{egin{array}{l} \mathbf{j}ar{\mathbf{i}},\mathbf{j}oldsymbol{\circ}ar{\mathbf{a}}oldsymbol{\circ}(\mathbf{r}) \ \mathbf{j}ar{\mathbf{i}}(\mathbf{r}),\mathbf{j}oldsymbol{\circ}(\mathbf{r}) \end{array} ight.$
	ĭ iz, θ iz)	
	$\left. egin{array}{ccc} reve{f i} & {f iz}, \ \Theta & {f iz} \ reve{f iz}, \ \Theta & {f z} \end{array} \right\}$	$_{(}$ dee, de, de $ar{a}$ e (\mathbf{r})
	šŭ iz, šə iz }	$\{$ dee, de, de $ar{a}e(r)$ $\}$ dee (r) , de (r) , de (r)
	šūz, šez	

Pret.

Sing.

Plur.

ai, a, i wo(r) or wo(r) etc.

wĭ, we wo(r) or we(r) etc.

Infin.

bĭ, bə

Pres. Part. bī-in

Past "bın

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH not.

Present.

Sing.

Plur.

ai, a, i amət aim, am, im nət döä, tä, tə ātnt

{ wĭ, we ānt wĭ, we net jĭ, je ānt

ðāt, tāt, tet net

(jĭ, jə nət

ĭ, e iznt
ĭz, ez net
}

Šeə, če, čə āntčeə, če, čə nət

šŭ, šə iznt šŭz, šəz nət

Pret.

ai, a, i wornt ai, a, i wo-not etc. wĭ, we wornt
wĭ, we we-net
etc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

am ai, a, i? ăðā, ātā, ātə? izī, izə? iz šū, šə?)

išū, išə?

ăwĭ, ăwe? ăjĭ, ăje?

ăðee, ăðe, ăðe?

Pret.

Sing.
wor ai, a, i?
woðă, wotă, wote?
wor, ĭ, e?
wošŭ, woše?

Plur.

wowĭ, wowe? wojĭ, woje?

wode, wode, wode?

INTERROGATIVELY WITH not.

Present.

 amət ai, a, i ?
 ānt wǐ, wə ?

 ătnöă, ătntă ?
 ânt jǐ, jə ?

 iznt ĭ, e ?
 iznt ŏeə, ŏe, ŏe ?

 retc.
 wornt wĭ, wə ?

 etc.
 etc.

In forms like atnt art not, wornt was, were not, the n is vocalic.

The above forms of the present are mostly used in combination with the pronouns, in other cases we generally use iz, ez, z, s, cp. § 395, as thoilz iznt dun jet the coals are not done yet, der lots on em dan trued there are lots of them down the road, demz or dem e vari guidnz those are very good ones, tladz ez or e ban wi je the lads are going with you, der fouks ets or et er oles grumlin there are people who are always grumbling, mī ets se pueli I who am so poorly, di ets nout te diu med elp me e bit thou, who hast nothing to do, mightest help me a bit.

d. will.

§ 397. Present, strong form wil, weak at which loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns.

Preterite, strong form wod, weak forms wed, ed, the latter loses its vowel in combination with the pronouns, as ad len det, bed a kant diu bat it dust na I would lend thee it, but I cannot do without it just now, tladz wed or ed fots it, if je ast em the lads would fetch it, if you asked them.

wod, wed is used as an infin. in the phrase: ius to wod to be formerly wont or willing to do a thing, as de ius to wed elp me nā en den they were formerly wont or willing to help me now and then. wod is also in common use as a past participle, a kud or ked e dunt if id wod I could have done it if I had wished. But see the end of § 389.

AFFIRMATIVELY.

Present.		
Sing.	Plur.	
ai, a wil _}	{ wt, we wil wt, wel	
ail, al	∖ wĭl, wəl	
ðā, tā, tə wil	₍ jĭ, jə wil	
ðāl, tāl, təl	jĭ, jə wil jĭl, jəl	
ĭ, ə wil)		
ĭl, əl }	(800, 80, 80 wil	
ĭl, əl } šŭ, šə wil \	f dee, de, de wil deel, del, del	
šŭl, šəl		
Pret.		
ai, a, i wod or wed	$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \mathbf{w}\breve{\mathbf{i}},\mathbf{w}\mathbf{e}\mathbf{wod}\mathrm{or}\mathbf{wed}\\ \mathbf{w}\breve{\mathbf{i}}\mathbf{d},\mathbf{wed} \end{array}\right.$	
aid, ad, id	wīd, wed	
ðā, tā, te wod or wed	∫ jĭ, je wod or wed	
ðād, tād, təd	ĺ jťd, jed	
ĭ, ə wod or wəd		
Ĭd. əd	f dee, de, de wod or wed	
šŭ, še wod or wed	8 deed, ded, ded or wed deed, ded, ded	
šŭd, šəd		

AFFIRMATIVELY WITH not.

Present.

Sing.

Plur.

ai, a wilnt or wient etc.

wĭ, we wilnt or wient etc.

Pret.

ai, a, i wodnt)
aid, ad, id net)
etc.

wĭ, wə wodnt wĭd, wəd nət fetc.

INTERROGATIVELY.

Present.

wil ai, a, i?
wil dă, tă, ta?
wită, wita?
wil ă, e?
wil šă, ša?

wil wī, wə?

wil jĭ, jə?

wil dee, de, de?

Pret.

wod ai, a, i? etc. wod wĭ, wə?

INTERROGATIVELY WITH not.

Present.

wilnt, wient ai, a i? etc.

wilnt, wient wi, we?

etc.

Pret.

wodnt ai, a, i? etc.

wodnt wĭ, wə?

e. do.

§ 398. As an independent verb diu has its full conjugation like any other verb. The pret. did is used for all

persons singular and plural. Present part. diu-in, which has been reformed from the inf., otherwise we should have had *du(i)in (§ 163); past part. duin, dun. Present wit not is duent, dunet, pret. didnt.

When used interrogatively as an auxiliary verb we have diu for the first person singular and for the plural strong form diu, weak forms do, di. When do is used affirmatively as an auxiliary verb it has, of course, no weak forms.

PRESENT.

Affirmatively.

Sing.	Plur.
ai, a, i diu	wĭ, wə diu
ðă, tă, tə duz	jť, je diu
ĭ, e duz šŭ, še duz	čee, če, če diu

Interrogatively.

diu ai, a, i?	də or di wĭ, wə?
duz ðā, dustā, dustə?	də or di jĭ, jə?
duz ši duša?	de or di dee, de, de?
duz šū duša 2	ao or ar cco, cc, cc,

The verb do is not used so frequently in asking questions as in lit. Engl.: wot pipste, sal we gue? lit. what thinkest thou, shall we go? wod e diut, pipk je? would he do it, do you think? See § 249.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER XI.

Adverbs, Prepositions, and Conjunctions.

I. ADVERBS.

§ 399. 1. Adverbs of manner and degree: The adverbs of manner mostly end in -li, as ādli hardly, oəkədli awk-wardly; but we have the stress on the suffix in siuəlĭ surely, əkuədinlái accordingly.

ā how, ā-ivə(r) old people say āmivə(r) however which seems to have been contaminated with āsəmivə(r) howsoever, with the particle səm=the O. Dan. sum, O. Icel. səm; apm (lit. happen), me bi perhaps, nobəd lit. not but, only, oləs always, oməst almost, tiu too, also (instead of tiu we very often use ən oəl lit. and all, it wər ə vari guidn ən oəl it was a very good one too, aim bān ən oəl I am going too), vari very, wīl well. But when well begins the sentence we use wel just as in lit. Engl., as wel, a nivər iəd sitš ən ə pip i oəl mi boən deəz well, I never heard such (an) a thing in all my born days; but its oəl vari wīl it is all very well, šuz nuən sə wīl tə-deə she is not very well to-day.

sue, weak form se so. Instead of sue we often use dat, as i we dat mad he was so angry, se we dat week wol se kudnt stand she was so weak that (lit. while) she could not stand.

The adverbs also, thus, why are not used. To express

also we use tiu, on ool, thus is i dis woo, and why, wot fo(r), wots of guen fo(r)? why has he gone?, a duent noo wot oz dun dat fo(r) I don't know why he has done that.

Adverbs of place: oniwiə(r) anywhere, iə(r) here, iðə(r), hither, jondə(r) yonder, sumwiə(r) somewhere, ðiə(r) (weak forms \eth e(r), \eth e(r)) there, wiə(r) where.

Adverbs of time: inā bye-and-bye, presently, binā by this time, ivo(r) ever, jostodo yesterday, jostonīt last night, jot yet, nā now, nivo(r) never, oft often, sin since, suin soon, to-deo to-day, to-moon to-morrow, to-moon-tnīt to-morrow (the) night, to-nīt to-night, čen then, wen when.

Affirmative and negative particles: ai yes (jes is also used but it is not so common as ai), nee no (nou no has been borrowed from the literary language), net not (instead of net we often use nuen); cp. § 357.

2. PREPOSITIONS.

§ 400. afte(r) after, be-fue(r), e-fue(r), fue(r) before, be-twin, twin between, bi, weak be by, be-int behind, bin within, dan down, e, ev (before vowels) of, e-bat, bat about, without, e-būn, būn above, e-gien, gien against, e-led e along of, on account of, e-med among, e-nent opposite, e-said, be-said besides, e-stied e, stied e instead of, fo(r) for, fre, fre from, in, i in (i is very common before both vowels and consonants), inte, intev (before vowels), intul into, nie(r) near, nobed except, on (weak form e) on, of, oue(r), ove(r) over, sin since, te, tev (before vowels), tul to, priu, pre through, from, unde(r) under, up up, wi with, wiðat without.

3. CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 401. The following are the chief conjunctions in addition to those prepositions and adverbs which may be

used as conjunctions: bed but, be-kos, kos because, en and, et that (dat is never used as a conjunction in the dialect), if if, noede(r) neither, oede(r) either, ne(r) nor (after comparatives than, bete ner i pout better than I thought), o(r), e(r) or, doe although, wol until, that (stop wol e kumz stop until he comes, se we dat badli wol de pout sed nive mend she was so ill that they thought she would never get better).

SPECIMENS.

It was originally my intention not to give any specimens of the dialect in this volume, but to reserve them for a second which was to contain a complete glossary of such dialect words as are not in use in the Modern literary language, together with extensive specimens of the dialect. With this end in view I have been collecting materials for a great number of years; but various circumstances prevent me from entertaining the hope of being able to publish them for some years to come. I have therefore decided to give a few specimens in the present volume, trusting that they may be found useful to those readers who may wish to make themselves familiar with the dialect. To anyone who takes the trouble to read them I venture to say that they will be found both amusing and instructive.

There is a great quantity of stories and poems printed in the dialect, but as they stand they are practically worthless for the purposes of this book. The transcription is neither accurate nor consistent. All the specimens given here are from printed sources. To number III. I have added the original in order to show the kind of transcription usually employed in such books.

The sources are:—III. (The Yorkshireman's Comic Annual, 1884, pp. 37-38), IV. (ditto, 1885, pp. 14-17), V. (ditto, 1882, pp. 24-26), VI. (Yorkshire Sketches, by William Cudworth, pp. 11-17), VII., VIII., IX. (Dialect and other Poems, by Ben Preston, pp. 31-33, 11-12, 1-10).

Ī.

Comparative Specimen.

- See Ellis, EEPr. vol. v. p. 7*. In this and the Dialect Test I have inserted the forms in parentheses in the literary English Specimens in order to facilitate the reading of the dialect versions.
- 1. wel, neəbə(r), jī ən im mə buəþ laf ət ðis niuz ə main. uə keəz? ðats noəðər iə nə ðiə(r).
- 2. feu men dī kos ðə laft at, wī noə, duənt wə? wot səd mak əm? its nət vari laikli, iz it?
- 3. āsəm·ivə čiəz ə tfaks ə tkeəs, suə džust od jə din, frend, ən bi kwaiət wol iv dun. ākp!
- 4. 'aim siuər a iəd əm seə—sum ə ðem fouks ət went þriu tuəl þin fra tfāst ðəsenz,—þat a did, [seəf] siuər i·nif,—
- 5. ət tjunist sun isen, ə gət lad ə nain, niu is faðə voiz ət wuns, ðo(ə) it wo sə kwiər ən skwiəkin, ən ad trāst im tə speik t'riuþ oni deə, ai, a wod ðat.
- 6. ən toud wumən əsen l tel oni on jə ət laf nā, ən tel jə streit of, tiu, bāt mitš boðə(r), if jəl nobəd as ə(r), oə! wiənt šə?—
- 7. ət oni reət šu teld it 'mī wen i ast ə(r), tū ə þrī taimz ouə(r), šu did, ən 'šū outnt tə bi ren i sitš [ən] ə point əz ðis, wot þink jə?

I.

Comparative Specimen.

- 1. Well, neighbour, you and he may both laugh at this news of mine. Who cares? That is neither here nor there.
- 2. Few men die because they are laughed at, we know, don't we? what should make them? It is not very likely, is it?
- 3. Howsoever these are the facts of the case, so just hold your [din] noise, friend, and be quiet till I have done. Hearken!
- 4. I am [sure] certain I heard them say—some of [them] those folks who went through the whole thing from the first themselves,—that did I, [sure] safe enough,—
- 5. That the youngest son himself, a great [lad] boy of nine, knew his father's voice at once, though it was so queer and squeaking, and I would trust him to speak the truth any day, aye, I would [that].
- 6. And the old woman herself will tell any of you that laugh now, and tell you straight off, too, without much bother, if you will only ask her, oh! won't she?—
- 7. [at any rate] leastways she told it me when I asked her, two or three times over, did she, and she ought not to be wrong on such a point as this, what do you think?

- 8. wel əz a wə se(ə)-in, 'šūd tel jə, ā, wiər ən wen šə fan d'rukı ānd ət šə koəlz ər uzbn.
- 9. šu swee še so(e) im wi er oen īn, ligin reit et ful lenþ, e tgrund, in iz guid sunde koit, tlois bi d'uer e tās, dān et tkoener e jon loin.
- 10. i wə ruərin ə weə, sez šū, fər oəl twəld laik ə puəli bān, ər ə litl las in ə friət.
- 11. ən ðat apmd, əz ər ən ə doutər-i-loə kom þriu tbak jād frə inin twet tluəz āt tə drai ə twešin deə.
- 12. wol tketl wə boilin fə t'iə, wun fain brīt sumər aftənuin, nobəd ə wik sin kum tnekst þēzdə.
- 13. ən, di jə noə? a nivə liənd nə muə nə ðis ə ðat biznəs up tə tə deə, əs siuər əz mi neəm z džon šepəd, ən a duənt wont tiu oəðə(r), ðiə nā!
- 14. ən su(ə) am bān uəm tə mi supə(r). guid nīt, ən duənt bi sə redi tə kro(ə) ouər ə bodi ə giən, wen ə toəks ə vis vat ə tuvə(r).
- 15. its ə weək fuil ət preəts bāt riəzn. ən ðats mai last wēd. guid bai.

- 8. Well as I was saying, she would tell you, how, where, and when she found the drunken [hound] that she calls her husband.
- 9. She swore she saw him with her own eyes, lying [right] stretched at full length, on the ground, in his good Sunday coat, close by the door of the house, down at the corner of you lane.
- 10. He was [roaring] whining away, says she, for all the world like a [poorly barn] sick child, or a little [lass] girl in a fret.
- 11. And that happened, as she and her daughter-in-law came through the back yard from hanging out the wet clothes on [the] a washing day.
- 12. While the kettle was boiling for [the] tea, one fine bright summer afternoon, only a week [since] ago come next Thursday.
- 13. And, do you know? I never learned [no] any more [nor] than this of that business up to to-day, as sure as my name is John Shepherd, and I don't want to either, there now!
- 14. And so I am going home to [my supper] sup. Good night, and don't be so [ready] quick to crow over a body again, when he talks of this that or t' other.
- 15. It is a weak fool that prates without reason. And that is my last word. Good bye.

H.

Dialect Test.

- See Ellis, p. 8*, and compare the version given below with the one in Ellis (p. 389), which contains several strange mistakes both in the version and the notes to it. If his rendering of the dialect test of other dialect speakers is as inaccurate as that of the Windhill dialect, the value of these tests for phonetic and philological purposes is not very great. The classified word-list (pp. 391-4) also contains many mistakes. The only way in which I can account for these inaccuracies is partly through the hurried manner in which the dial. test and classified word-list were taken down and partly through their not having been revised.
- 1. su(ə) a seə meəts, jə sī nā ət im reit ə bāt ðat litl las kumin frə tskuil jondə(r).
- 2. šuz gu(ə)-in dān truəd ðiə þriu tred geət ə tleft and said ə tweə.
 - 3. siuər i nif, than z guən streit up tə d'uər ə tren as,
- 4. wie šl tšons te find čat druku dief wiznd fele (more commonly tšap) e tneem e tomes.
 - 5. wi oəl no(ə) im vari wīl.
- 6. wient toud tšap suin teitš e net te diu it e gien, pue pin!
 - 7. liuk! iznt it triu?

II.

Dialect Test.

- 1. So I say, mates, you see now that I am right about that little [lass] girl coming from the school yonder.
- 2. She is going down the road there through the red gate on the left hand side of the way.
- 3. Sure enough, the [barn] child has gone straight up to the door of the wrong house,
- 4. where she will chance to find that drunken deaf [wizzened] shrivelled fellow of the name of Thomas.
 - 5. We all know him very well.
- 6. Won't the old chap soon teach her not to do it again, poor thing!
 - 7. Look! Isn't it true?

III.

TBATL Z T'LUZ LAINZ.

ai, Grees, las, it wer oel ouer e bit ev e tlues kued. net wun e tsuet te gue peilin up en dan dinin fouk oue(r), əz ə riul; da noəz dat. wot ai wont is piəs ən kwaiətnəs, bed if fouk wient let me ev it [or et], al mak em sit up fot, 5 əz oni wumən wod ət əd ər oən weə tə mak i twəld, ən ə lot ə bānz tə mak ən mend fo(r), nivə neəm ə uzbn ət nivə blaklieded e greet e west e winde sin wed we wo(r). Sa noəz əz wil əz ai noə wot ə gət wešin ai ev ivri wik--- lot ə muki smoks ən skāts, ət jə mə boil ən betə boil, ən ðen bi 10 niəli əz bad əz wen jə bə gan. Se duənt koəl it tgriəzi miln fə nout. tiuzdə z oləs bīn mai wešin deə fə ðiəz siks jiə bak e mue(r). a oles put t'lues te stip tnit e fue(r), en get up et faiv etlok i tmoenin, efue Ben en tbanz guez te de wak, ən gets tsetpan ə geət, ən z ivri tlāt āt suin aftə brekfəs 15 taim, if doz o guid druft, for if doz wun þin muo nor o'nudor et maks Ben liuk blak its e lot e tluez inin e bat.

ðats bin mai we(ə) ə gu(ə)in on, ən šuz noən it əz wīl əz iv noən it misen. wol ðis apmd wi wər əz guid neəbəz əz nīd bī. wi mud fratš ə bit nā ən ðen ouə tbānz—fə ðat ₂o Siuzi ə āz iz ə reit 'teəstril əv ə las, ən giz āə Džoni sum reə slaps sumtaimz—bəd wiv nivər ed nə boðə tə miən out wol nā. ən if təl bə·līv mə, las, av dun muə fə ðat ðiə wumən nər if šəd bīn mi oən sistə(r). a neg·lektəd mi oən uəm tə

III.

T'BATTLE O' T'TLOAZE LINES.

Ay, Grace, lass, it wor all ovver a bit of a tloaze cord. I'm nut one o' t'soart to go peylin' up an' dahn dingin' fowk ovver, as a rule; than knaws that. What I want is peace an' quietness, but if fowk weant let me hev it, I'll mak' 'em sit up for it, as onny woman wod 'at hed her awn 5 way to mak' i' t'world, an' a lot o' barns to mak' an' mend for, nivver name a husband 'at nivver blackleeaded a grate or weshed a winda sin' wed we wor. Thah knaws as weel as I knaw what a gurt weshin' I hev ivvery week-a lot o' mucky smocks an' skirts, 'at ye may boil an' better 10 boil, an' then be nearly as bad as when ye began. They don't call it t'greasy miln for nowt. Tuesday's awlus been my weshin' day for these six year back or more. I awlus put t'tloaze to steep t'neet afore, an' get up at five o'clock i' t'mornin', afore Ben an' t'barns goes to ther wark, an' 15 gets t'set-pan agate, an' hez ivvery claht aht sooin after brekfast time, if ther's a gooid druft, for if ther's one thing more nor another 'at mak's Ben lewk black it's a lot o' tloaze hingin' abaht.

That's been my way o' goin' on, an' shoo's knawn it as 20 weel as I've knawn it mysen. Whol this happen'd we wor as gooid nabors as need be. We mud fratch a bit nah an' then ovver t'barns—for that Susey o' hers is a reyt taystrill of a lass, an' gives ahr Johnny some rare slaps sometimes—bud we've nivver hed no bother to mean owt whol 25 nah. An' if ta'll believe me, lass, I've done more for that theer woman nor if shoo'd been my awn sister. I ne-

weət on ə wen šə wə ligin in ə tlast bān; av swild tpasidž duznz ə taimz wen its bīn ā tēn; ən a wə nivər ə giən takin keər ə tās for ə wen šəz wontəd tə guə tə tmītin. šūz ə grand ən tə guə tə tmītin, šū iz ðat; bəd a oləs sed, ən al se(ə) ə giən, ət ðem ət prə fesəz tə bi sə piuər ən guid əz oləs twāst wen ðə kum tə bi reit rekad up. a wuns niu ə pāsnz doutər ət didnt no(ə) ā tə freəm tə weš ə pot up, ən šə kəd fešn tə guə tə t'šapil ivri sundə i twik. bəd jə duənt no(ə) u(ə) is sānd wol jəv bodmd əm reit; ən if onibodi kəd ə teld mə þrī wik sin ət Meəri Džeglz əd ə dun əs šu ez dun tə mə, ast ə þroən d'ištlāt i ðə feəs ən teld əm ðə wə nuən 35 wot ðə out tə bī. bəd ðəz nout tə bi sed fot. ðes sum fouk əd disiəv ə maiklskoup, ðe sə dīp.

wel, əz a wə telin öə, av oləs wešt ə t'iuzdə öis moni ə jiə(r), fər a laik tə gu(ə) āt ə bit əv ə mundə, wen iv getn əm və sundə tluəz brušt ən saidəd ə weə, ən a mak nout ə 40 wešin ən beəkin tə-geðər ət tbak end ə twik, wen je sed bi tlienin. sue tiuzde z mai dee, en šu noez it. wel, ə fotnit sin kum jəstədə, a gat up ət faiv ə tlok, əz iuzl, ən went at it laik ə oəs wol ə bāt brekfəs taim. Sen a tiuk t'luəs kuəd ən þout ad bi getin ə tūþri þinz āt. bəd, 45 wod tə bə·līv it? Meəri əd guən ən putn ər oən kuəd āt ən getn it ful ə tluəz. a kəd ādli bə līv mi oən īn. niu ə weš wol wednzdə ə fuər i oəl mi laif, su(ə) a guəz up tul er, en a sez, 'wots tmienin e dis laik?' 'tmienin e wot?' šu sez, əz inisnt əz ə stuft miul. 'didnt tə no(ə) it 50 wə mai wešin moənin?' a sez. 'apm a did,' šu sez, 'ən apm a didnt, bəd a spuəz av əz mitš reit tə in mai tluəz āt əz ðā ez tə in ðain.' ðis netld mə; su(ə) a sez, 'ða noəz glected my awn hoam to wait on her when shoo wor liggin' in o' t'last barn; I've swilled t'passidge dozens o' times when it's been her turn; an' I wor nivver ageean takkin' 30 care o' t'hahse for her when shoo's wanted to go to t'meetin'. Shoo's a grand un to go to t'meetin', shoo is that; bud I awlus said, an' I'll say ageean, 'at them 'at professes to be so pure an' gooid is awlus t'warst when they come to be reyt reckoned up. I once knew a parson's dowter 'at 35 didn't knaw hah to frame to wesh a pot up, an' shoo could feshan to go to t'chapel ivvery Sunday i' t'week. Bud ye doan't knaw who is sahnd whol ye've bottom'd 'em reyt; an' if onnybody could ha' teld me three week sin' 'at Mary Jaggles wod ha' done as shoo hez done to me, I sud ha' 40 thrawn t'dishclaht i' ther face an' teld 'em they wor noan what they owt to be. But ther's nowt to be said for it. Ther's some fowk 'ud deceive a michaelscowp, they're so deep.

Well, as I wor tellin' tha, I've awlus weshd o' t'Tuesday 45 this monny a year, for I like to go aht a bit of a Monday, when I've gotten 'em ther Sunda' tloaze brushed an' sided away, an' I mak' nowt o' weshin an' bakin' together at t'back end o' t'week, when ye sud be tleanin'. So Tuesday's my day, an' shoo knaws it. Well, a fortnit sin' come 50 yesterday, I gat up at five o'clock, as ushal, an' went at it like a horse whol abaht brekfast time. Then I tewk t'tloaze cord an' thowt I'd be gettin' a toathree things aht. Bud, wod ta believe it? Mary hed goan an' putten her awn cord aht an' gotten it full o' tloaze. I could hardly 55 believe my awn een. I nivver knew her wesh whol Weddinsday afore i' all my life, so I goes up tul her, an' I says, 'What's t'meanin' o' this like?' 'T'meanin' o' what?' shoo says, as innocent as a stuffed mule. 'Didn't ta knaw it wor my weshing mornin'?' I says. 'Happen I did,' 60 shoo says, 'an' happen I didn't, bud I suppose I've as mitch reyt ta hing my tloaze aht as tha hez ta hing thine.' This nettled me; so I says, 'Thah knaws varry weel 'at Tuesvari wīl ət tiuzdə z mai deə, ən su(ə) al þenk və tə get vem tlāts ə vain āt ə truəd əs suin əs tə kan.' 'uə tə toəkin 55 tul?' šu sez. 'va noəz vari wīl u(ə) im toəkin tul,' a sez, 'suə let s e nə bovə(r).' ven šu tēnz rānd ən su sez, 'av əz mitš reit tə vis grund ən tə vat tluəspuəst əz vā ez, ən al sī və fat ə fuər al tak əm dān, suə nā va noəz.' 'al pūl əm dān if tə duznt,' a sez. 'if tə duz val get vi topin pūld,' su osez. 'ən uəl pūl it?' a sez; 'uəl pūl it, Meəri Džeglz?' ən a went up tul ə tə seu ər a wə nuən fleəd on ə(r), nər oni sitš laik. 'val sī uə,' su sez, 'suə get intə tās wi və.' a wə sum ən mad, va mə bi siuə(r), su(ə) a sez, 'get intə tās visen, jə oud þinə; uə stāvd tkat?' 'uə kudnt þoil tə kīp van ?' su sez. 'uə boild d'ištlāt up wi tbrop?' sez ai. 'uə senz və bānz āt i regz?' sez sū. 'uə z renə i vər iəd?' sez ai. 'vā āt, ən oəl bə lenin və,' šu sez.

a wornt bān tə stand sitš lenwidž əz ðat oni lonə(r), su(ə) a þriu mi kuəd dān ən ran intə tās ən gat tkāvin 70 naif. ðen a fliu ət ə kuəd wi it in ə džifi. bəd ad nə suinə bə gun ə seəgin wi it nə šə rušəz at mə wi tlon bruš ən ramz it intə mi feəs, fər oəl it wə kuvəd wi wet ən muk. ad sitš ən ə muki feəs əz ða nivə soə sin tə wə boən. bəd a wə nuən bān tə bi bet, su(ə) a fotšt mi oən lon bruš, ən aftə rubin it i tsludž i tmidl ə truəd a went ən peəntəd ivri reg ət šəd inin āt wi it. Meəri ðen fotšt ə peəlful ə sudz ən þriu əm ouər āə duəstnz, bəd a gat ə pigin ful ə tseəm suət ə stuf ən let ər ev it feər i tfeəs. ə reglə krād əd getn rānd bi ðis taim, ən tladz kept sinin āt oəl suəts ə lou stuf, ən so wot əd ə bīn tupšot on it oəl a duənt no(ə) if āə Ben ednt apmd tə kum uəm təv iz brekfəs džust ðen.

day is my day, an so I'll thenk tha to get them clahts o' thine aht o' t'road as sooin as ta can.' 'Who're ta talkin' 65 tul?' shoo says. 'Thah knaws varry weel who I'm talkin' tul, I says, 'so let's hev no bother.' Then shoo turns rahnd an' shoo says, 'I've as mitch reyt to this grund an' to that tloaze-post as than hez, an' I'll see tha fat afore I'll tak' 'em dahn, so nah thah knaws.' 'I'll pool 'em dahn if 70 ta doesn't,' I says. 'If ta does thah'll get thy toppin' pooled,' shoo says. 'An' who'll pool it?' I says; 'who'll pool it, Mary Jaggles?' an' I went up tul her to show her I wor noan flayed on her, nor onny sitch like. 'Thah'll see who, shoo says, so get into thahse wi tha. I wor 75 some an' mad, thah may be suar, so I says, 'Get into t'hahse thysen, ye owd thing; who starved t'cat?' 'Who couldn't thoil ta keep one?' shoo says. 'Who boiled t'dishclaht up wi' t'broth?' says I. 'Who sends ther barns aht i regs?' says shoo. 'Who's reng i' ther heead?' says I. 'Thah art, an' all belengin' tha,' shoo says.

I worrant bahn to stand sitch langwidge as that onny longer, so I threw my cord dahn an' ran into t'hahse an' gat t'carvin' knife. Then I flew at her cord wi' it in a jiffy. Bud I'd no sooiner begun o' sawin' wi' it nor shoo 85 rushes at me wi' t'long brush an' rams it into my face, for all it wor covered wi' wet an' muck. I'd sitch a mucky face as than nivver saw sin' ta wor born. Bud I wor noan bahn to be bet, so I fotched my awn long brush, an' after rubbin' it i' t'sludge i' t'middle o' t'road I went an' painted 90 ivvery reg 'at shoo hed hingin' aht wi' it. Mary then fotched a pailful o' suds an' threw 'em over ahr doorstuns, bud I gat a piggin' full o' t'same soart o' stuff an' let her hev' it fair i' t'face. A reggalar crahd hed gotten rahnd by this time, an' t'lads kept singin' aht all soarts o' low 95 stuff, an' what 'ad ha' been t'upshot on it all I don't knaw if ahr Ben heddant happened to come hoam to his brekfast just then.

'What's up nah?' says Ben; so I at it an' tell'd him,

' wots up nā?' sez Ben; su(ə) a at it ən teld im, ol·doə še wər ektərin ə weə laik mad ivri bit ə t'aim. fə wuns Ben tiuk mai said, en i tiuk e tluez, en tkued, en ivripio džust 85 əz it wo(r), ən bend əm slap on təv ər oən duəstnz. Te wər ə bit ə kwaiətnəs den fər ə bit, ən a gat mi oən kuəd ful ə tluəz āt ə fuə Ben went bak ə giən təv iz wāk. in ə wail ət aftə(r), ā-ivə(r), a iəd ə lafin noiz, su(ə) a popt mi iəd āt ə d'uə(r), ən Siər if toud bīzm ednt guən ən kut mi lain 90 dan, en oel mi tluez we ligin e tflue(r). a faied up en a went təv ər ās, bəd šu slamd d'uər i mi feəs ən put tlatš dān su(ə) əz i kudnt get in. 'al mak və peə fə vis, jə treš!' a šātəd þriu tkei-oil. 'mak on!' šu šātəd bak, ən ad tə gu(ə) ən sam mi tluəz up ən weš əm ouər ə giən. wot əd 95 ə kum tə pas if it ednt tənd at tə bi ə wet deə a kant tel; bed it kom dan laik kats en dogz, en wi bueh ed te drai we tluəz i tās.

wen nīt kom a wə fleəd ðəd bī ə boni rumpəs, fə Ben wə boilin wi reədž. if oni ə Meəri bānz kom niər āəz šu fotšt 100 əm in wi ə tlatə(r), ən þriətnd tə kil əm if ivə ðə leəkt wi ðem þinz oni muə(r). 'wir əz guid əz jī!' sez āə Dik. 'bəd jāə muðəz ə bad ən; šuz bān tə bi teən tə tlokup,' sez Meəriz junist las. Þinz gat tə sitš ən ə pitš, indīd, wol āə Ben went ən ofəd tuəl famli, big ən litl, āt tə feit. ā-ivə(r), 105 Meəri uzbn z ə nais kwaiət suət əv ə tšap, ən av nout tə se(ə) ə giən 'im, ən i wodnt oəðə mel nə mak. ən ðats wot wiv getn tul, ən ā wis kum on tnekst tiuzdə ðə loəd uənli noəz. bəd as nivə fə giv ə(r); nivə wol i liv; tnasti guid-fə-nout! aftər oəl ət iv dun for ər ən oəl, ən nivə tšeədžd

wornt at a nok at d'ua(r)? a pout it wo(r). kum in. wel, if it iznt Meari! a sez a pout it wa wednzda? an

although shoo wor hectorin' away like mad ivvery bit o' 100 t'time. For once Ben tewk my side, an' he tewk her tloaze, an' t'cord, an' ivverything just as it wor, an' beng'd 'em slap on to her awn doorstuns. Theer wor a bit o' quietness then for a bit, an' I gat my awn cord full o' tloaze aht afore Ben went back agean to his wark. In a 105 while at after, hahivver, I heeard a laughin' noise, so I popt my heead aht o' t'door, an' theer if t'owd besom heddant goan an' cut my line dahn, an' all my tloaze wor liggin' o' t'floor. I fired up an' I went to her hahse, but shoo slammed t'door i' my face an' put t'latch dahn so as I 110 couldn't get in. 'I'll mak tha pay for this, ye tresh!' I sharted threw t'keyhoil. 'Mak' on!' shoo sharted back, an' I hed to go an' sam my tloaze up an' wesh 'em ovver agean. What 'ud hev come to pass if it heddant turned aht to be a wet day I can't tell; bud it com' dahn like 115 cats an' dogs, an' we both hed to dry wer tloaze i' t'hahse.

When neet com' I wor flay'd there'd be a bonny rumpus, for Ben wor boilin' wi' rage. If onny o' Mary's barns com' near ahrs shoo fotched 'em in wi' a clatter, an' threaten'd to kill 'em if ivver they laikt wi' them things onny more. 120 'We're as gooid as ye!' says ahr Dick. 'Bud yahr mother's a bad un; shoo's bahn to be ta'en to t'lockup,' says Mary's youngest lass. Things gat ta sitch a pitch, indeed, whol ahr Ben went an' offered t'whoal family, big an' little, aht to feyt. Hahivver, Mary's husband's a nice, 125 quiet sort of a chap, an' I've nowt to say agean him, an' he woddant awther mel nor mak'. An' that's what we've getten tul, an' hah we sal com' on t'next Tuesday the Lord oanly knaws. Bud I'se nivver forgive her; nivver whol I live; t'nasty gooid-for-nowt! After all 'at I've done for 130 her an' all, an' nivver charged her a hawpney piece.

Worrant that a knock of t'door? I thowf it wor. Come in. Well, if it isn't Mary! Than says than thowf it wor Weddinsday? An' than wants to be reyt? So dew I. I don't knaw what we've hed to fall ant abant; an' I've 135

ða wonts tə bi reit? suə diu ai. a duənt noə wot wəv ed tə foəl āt ə·bāt; ən av džust bin se(ə)in ət if ivə ðə wər ə ¹¹⁵ wumən ət i þout out ə·bāt it wə ðī. kum in wi ðə. av bin evin ə bit ə frendli tšat wi Greəs iə(r). tketl z on, ən av ə fati keək i tuvm, ən a dāə seə ðez ə drop ə Džəmeəkə sumwiə(r). sit ðə dān, las.

just been sayin' 'at if ivver theer wor a woman 'at I thowt owt abaht it wor thee. Come in wi' tha. I've been hevin' a bit ov a friendly chat wi' Grace here. T'kettle's on, an' I've a fatty cake i' t'oven, an' I dar' say theer's a drop o' Jamaica somewheer. Sit tha dahn, lass.

TKUKŪ TLOK.

a wə dan ət Lidz tubə wik, ən bi-in reəbə drai aftə liukin rānd t'ān, a apmd tə pop intəv ə eələs nət fāə frə tsteišn, wie de we ban te bī e rafl fer e kukū tlok. see jel noe wot e kukū tlok iz; ā-ive(r), its e tlok ets getn 5 ə oil i tfeəs ont wiər ə bəd pops āt ivri āər ən šāts 'kukū' ə stiəd ə straikin, ən šāts wuns ivri oəf āər əz wīl. we tseem et dis raff ez it iz et ivri ude(r)—de wer oel wontin to bi twino(r). Se wo nioli ool jun tšaps ot wor in, ən ət ə bāt sevm ə tlok de bə-gan ə mustrin tə gedə(r). wol 10 de we weetin die fer em oel tenin up, de ked toek e nout nobed dis kukū tlok. 'am siuer ai sl win it,' sed Ned e oud Bilz. 'Jal net win Jis,' sed Krake(r). 'av net bin in ə rafl jət bəd wot iv wun.' 'Sat tlok l bi main tənīt, ər els am tšet, sed Džim Tanə(r). 'ə diəl on jəl find jəsenz 15 mis teən,' sed jun Stroeberi, kos av kum þrī mail e pēpes te fots it.' t'aim kom et last for em te šak, en if jed nobed sīn əm epin on t'eəbl tə sī wot numəz wə tənd up, jəd aktli ə þout de we ban te swol e theesin. traff wer ouer et last, ən Bili Mušrəm wə di kleəd tə bi twinə(r). wen (ə)levm 20 9 tlok kom, tlanload teld am it wa taim to bi skiftin, sua Bili gat is tlok ən went uəm. nā Bili didn't no(ə) ət it wər ə kukū tlok, ən id niə sīn wun ə fuə(r), su(ə) it koəzd im ə diel e trubl, ez al tel je in e bit 'se 'se, Džini wot iv brout de,' i sed te twaif, ez i tlapt t'lok on t'eebl wen e gat uem. 25 'wier es te getn dat briu, Bili?' su sed. 'av wun it,' sed Bili. 'ai, its ə boni ən. av niə sīn wun laik dat ə fuə(r). bed let's bi šapin fe bed, Bili, fer its getin lat.' 'al in t'lok up efuer i gue,' sed Bili, ez e went fer e neel en tame(r). after ed up it up ergien twoel, en set tpendlem wegin, de went to bed; bod ded nuon bin in moni minits ofuo do iod 30 sumət šāt 'kukū!' 'wot və emment s vat?' sed Bili. 'neə, ai kānt tel,' sed Džini. 'am siuər a iəd sumdi šāt kukū,' sed Bili. 'suə did ai, Bili,' sed twaif. Bili gat up, strak ə līt, den went dan-tsteez. i liukt oel up en dan, be int d'uez, inte tkubed en tkoil oil, bed ked find nout, 35 su(ə) i went ən gat intə bed ə giən. in ə bit i iəd 'kukū' twelv taimz. 'iə &ə, Džini,' i sed, 'ats pleən inif, bi gum!' ən džumpt āt ə bed, strak ə līt, ran dān-tsteəz, gat od e tpueker en bergan te unt up en dan ergien. 'a km si nout dan iə(r), Džini,' i sed, aftə liukin up ən dan fər ə·bat 40 ten minits, 'džust fīl if vəz onibodi undə tbed.' 'neə, bi gum, Bili; brin tlīt en kum en liuk fe disen.' 'dat nuen fleed, ā to?' sed Bili, beginin to bi frītnd isen, on diðorin wol a kad adli od tkanl i tstik. 'nea, am nat a bit flead,' šu sed, 'bed av ied fouk se(e) et twelv etlok et nit s t'aim 45 ət bogədz bə gin tə nok ə bāt, ən its džust ə bāt twelv nā. dat wer i nif fe Bili. tkanl flopt at e tstik, en i rust upsteez ən tumld intə bed əz if sumdi wər aftər im. 'oə, məðə(r)!' skriemd Džini, pinkin Bili ed sīn sumet. Bili kuved iseln oue tied wi t'luez en krept dan te thodm e thed. id getn 50 sə faə dan ət wun əv is fit un ə bit ouə tbodm, ən tkitlin bi-in upsteəz ən wontin sumət tə leək wi, gat od ə Bili tuəz wi it tlooz. 'mōðə(r)!' Bili šātəd, əz i dregd iz leg up. 'þīvz!' skriemd Džini, es šu kuved esen oue tied. noeðer on əm dōst stō fər ə bāt ten minits. ət last Džini sed, 55 'Bili! Bili!' 'od di din las.' 'dus to biok dis as oz oented, Bili?' 'am siuer it iz,' sed Bili, 'en al flit tfest bire e munde moenin. a nie berlivd i bogedz erfue(r), bed a kız bo·līv it nā, bo·kos av felt wun.' 'felt wun?' sed Džini. 'ai e fə siuə(r), las.' 'ən wot wor it laik?' šu sed. 'a kānt 60 tel. it kom en gat od e mi tu(e) e bit sin.' Džini flopt oue tied ergien, en Bili pinkin sed sin sumet, flopt oue tied tiu. in ə bit, ivriþin bi-in kwaiət, Džini popt ər iəd āt ə bed

ə·giən. 'Bili, a wiš it wə moənin,' šu sed. 'suə diu ai,' 65 sed Bili, əz ə flopt iz iəd āt. 'am feən ðā iəd it əz wīl əz mī, ər els da məd apm ə þout ad bin driəmin.' 'it wə nuə driemin, Bili, fe noeder on ez ed bin eslip.' de bueb leed lisnin, ən ivribin wə sə kwaiət de kəd iə t'lok tikin dantsteəz. 'kukū!' wə šātəd ə·giən. 'jonz tseəm din ə·giən,' 70 šu sed; 'am siuər its dān-tsteəz. gu(ə) ən ev ə nuðə liuk.' 'a duent noe wie tkanl iz,' i sed; 'it tumld at e tstik sumwie(r).' 'wel, itl nuen bi faer of; get up en liuk fot.' Bili gat up, went on iz anz ən nīz, ən bə gan gruəpin ə bāt tfluə fə tkanl. nā Džini əd up ə frok ən skāts on ə neəl ət 75 t'op e tsteez, en Bili apmd te tuts em wen i wer untin fe tkanl, en de kom tumlin on im. i džumpt inte bed wi sitš fuəs ət i nokt iz waif āt ə tuðə said. 'məðə(r)! pīvz!' skriemd Džini, en šu opmd twinde en šāted 'elp!' ə plīsmən ət wə džust pasin, þinkin sumət wə ren i tās, so brast d'uer opm en went in. 'wot s te diu ie(r)?' i sed. 'kan jə sī onibodi 'ðiə(r)?' Džini šātəd. 'ā kan i sī i d'āk?' i sed, əz i šut d'uə tə kīp onibodi frə gu-in āt. 'stop diə wol Bili gets ə līt,' šu sed, 'kos dəz oədə þīvz ə bogədz i tās.' Bili gat ə līt, ən im ən tplīsmən siətšt buəb upsteəz 85 ən dan, bəd kəd find nout. 'jə fə gat tə liuk undə tbed,' sed Bili. ə weə tplīsmən went upsteəz, ən Bili ən twaif krept after im. nout we fun unde thed, sue tplismen sed et vo must ə bin mis teən. wol və wər upsteəz tbəd šātəd 'kukū' ə gien. dan kom tplīsmən, tū steps ət wuns, ən 90 Bili ən twaif krept aftər im. ə siətš wə den meəd i ivri niuk ən koənə(r), īvm undə t'iəpot ən tsoltselə(r), bəd nout we fun. 'Ses sumet kwier ebāt Sis,' sed tplīsmen. 'čes sumet vari kwie(r),' Džini sed. 'e je iver ied sitš dinz əz dem i tās əfuə(r)?' tplīsmən ast. 'nivər əfuə 95 tə-nīt,' Džini sed. 'wel,' sed tplīsmən, bə ginin tə bi əs fleed ez oede Bili e twaif, en gu-in ez wait ez e šīt, 'as bi rānd ə giən in ə bāt ən āə(r), ən al liuk in,' bəd i wə feən tə get at, en dev net sin im sin. Bili en twaif krept upsteez ə giən, ən džust əz ded getn intə bed de iəd 'kukū' wuns

muə(r). 'wel, dis kaps oəl ət i ivər iəd tel on,' sed Bili. 100 'its tlast nīt i dis ās fə mī,' sed Džini. 'a wodnt stop iər if vod let mo liv rent-frī.' 'its nu(o) ius gu-in dān-tsteoz ə·giən, iz it, las, wi kp find nout?' 'neə, wi məd džust əz wil stop wie we aer en kip wokn wol moenin.' de wisped tə wun ən u və wol tū ə tlok, ən ven ve i əd 'kukū' twais. 105 'bi gum, its jonder egien!' Bili sed, en it oles sanz i tseem pleas. av a guid maind to sit dan-tsteas a bit an sī if i kız find it āt.' 'diu, Bili,' šu sed. Bili let tkanl, krept pratli dān-tsteəz, ən piekt isen i trokin tšee(r), bed i suin fel ə·slīp. i didnt iə tbād šāt wen it wər oəf past tū, nə Džini 110 noə və(r), fə səd guən tə slīp tiu. Bili woknd džust ə fuə þrī ə tlok, ən findin id bīn ə slīp, i dlanst rānd tās, bəd i soə nout. in ə bit tbād kom āt ən šātəd 'kukū' þrī taimz. Bili kest iz în up ət t'lok wen ə iəd it fəst taim, ən den i gat up tul it wen it šātəd tseknd taim, ən wen it šātəd 115 thad taim id a guid liuk at it wol it popt in an wa šut up. 'oə, av fun &ə āt ət last, ev i?' i sed. 'Džini! Džini! av fun thoged at; kum dan en liuk at it.' 'wot iz it, Bili?' šu sed. 'its ə bəd getn intə t'lok,' sed Bili. Džini kom dān-tsteəz, ən den Bili went tə t'lok ən traid tə opm d'uə 120 wie thed wo(r), bed i kudnt manidž it. 'ā 'be emments ez it getn 8i9(r)?' Džini sed. 'neə, a kan nət tel,' sed Bili. de bueb traid te get et thed wol oef past bri, wen it popt at ən šātəd 'kukū,' ən 'den went in ə giən. Bili traid to get od ont, bed it we te šāp for im. 'Sat en oud fešnd raskl, 125 bi gum!' sed Bili, 'bed Sal apm net bi se fleed wen tez bin iər ə de(ə) ə tū.' 'wel, Bili,' sed twaif, 'a nivə niu sitš ən ə bin i mi laif. av oməst ə guid maind tə nok it nek at fə frītnin əz ən kīpin əz wokız niəli oəl tnīt. kil it fəst þin, ən let s e nə muə bo'də wi it.' tlast ət i iəd ə bāt Bili ən is 130 kukū tlok, i wə fiksin ə fantn for it tə dripk at on, ən ə boks for it to eit at on, o said o toil wier it kept popin it ied āt.

? (A) ETSEEMT IS ET Z EU

ðis əz ə kwešn ət oft kumz up fə dis kušn, ən wen ə niuli wed kupl es te di said it de sumtaimz a lon wail e bat it. i mi jup deez, wen a we wekin et tmiln, niuz we brout inte tməkanik šop ət Sam Wilmən ən An Aris wə bān tə bi wed əs 5 tnekst sundə. Tis niuz wə brout in džust ə fuə tindžn stopt et brekfes taim, en sue wen wed getn naisli set dan te we moenin miel oud Dik Tseri sen at te Sam-' wot, a ges dat ban to bi wed tnekst sundo.' 'wa,' sed Sam, 'am binkin o sumet a tsuat.' 'wel, nā,' sez oud Dik, 'if ta mianz ta gu(a) 10 on smuiðli en bī e api man, duent spoil ði waif wi pamprin ə(r), əz if šə wər ə sik bān, bəd bə gin əs tə miənz tə kari on; if to duznt, val e to riu. ot tvari taim ot oud Dik wo givin dis əd vais tə Sam, ə lot ə wed wimin əd gedəd rand An Aris i tweivin šeed, en Se sed tev e(r), 'nā, An, las, 15 wotive to duz, sī et te stanz up fe di reits; duent gi wee tul im ən inš. if tə wuns bə ginz tə nukl undər il mak ə kum·pliet sleev en drudž on de; its oles thest wee to begin ez we in tend te kari on.' its oft bin sed et fouk reknz nout e ed vais unles de gue tev e loejer en pee siks en 20 eitpms fot; bed bueb Sam en An bout ted vais ded getn we wāb aktin on. rent deaz an wedin deaz wil kum at last, Joe lanloedz en braidgriumz binks de kum on et e sneel galəp, ən wen tnekst mundə moənin kom rānd Sam ən An we man en waif. 'its siks etlok bi dis wots e dain,' sed 25 Sam, 'a þink its ə bāt taim tə gat up ən let tfaiə(r).' 'a we džust þinkin,' sed An, 'et tād leed reege te lon, get up wi to, tal find sum kinlin i tuvm. 'a mon e to to get up,' sed Sam; 'es te fergetn wot te sed jestede—didnt te promis

tə luv, onər ən ə beə?' 'am prə peəd tə diu oəl i promist,' sed An, 'bed e bodi kant diu ivripio et wuns, al luv en 30 one de nā, if tl get up en līt tfaie(r), en wen tketl boilz da men koel me dan-tsteez en al ebee de.' 'kum, kum,' sed Sam, 'if to binks to kn traifl wi mo i dis weo dal find at di mis tak. a as ve te diu nout et i kant bak up wi skripte(r), fə sant Pītə sez—"waivz, nukl undə tə jər uzbnz." 'duz 35 ə?' sed An. 'al bə līv it wen i sī it.' 'den da sl suin sī it,' sed Sam, ən i bānst āt ə bed ən ran dān-tsteəz in is šāt. wol ə wə rumidžin ə bāt fə t'estiment, wot duz An diu bəd nip intə t'lozit, sam up oəl iz wātə tluəz, flip əm dān tə tbodm ə tsteps, bout t'šeəmə duər i tinsaid, ən den krīp bak 40 ergien inte bed. in e bit, Sam in iz eri te get bak, gat wun ev is fit felted in iz dudz, en fel fored, bumpin iz nuez ə giən tšāp edž ə wun ə tsteps. Sis put im intəv ə bit əv ə pešn, ən wen ə gat tə tsteəz iəd, ən fan d'uə fest, i sweər ə gēt uəb, doe id bīn et t'šapil tnīt efue(r). 'die lad,' sed 45 An, 'if təs swoən wi t'estiment i 'vi and, a wodnt bi vī fər oel tbras i tbenk, dez nuebdi se ādnd es te diu dat nobed trif-raf ət gets intə tkuət-ās.' 'a tə bān tə opm d'uə ən liuk ət dis tekst?' sed Sam. 'al liuk at it, wen tə lets mə no(ə) ət tketl z boilin, its nu(ə) ius getin up ə fuə(r),' ən An 50 kuved er ied up i thed tluez en fee kinkt ergien wi lafin, te þirak ā šəd bafld im; bəd wen šə iəd tās duə guə tul wi e get ben, it put e bit ev e damper on e meriment. 'wierive kan tmadlin bi of tul?' sed šū, 'a omest wiš id getn up misen ən let tfaiə(r), its nuə gət džob, ən if id jildəd 55 de wod e bin pies betwin ez. wist! a bink a ier is fuit kumin up tsteps. if a pips priu tlok-oil il bi eabl tə sī mə. al rekm tə bi ə slīp'. suə šu leəd wi ə feəs tə d'uər on stated e snuerin laik e peer e blaksmib belesez et ed getn ə bad koud. in ə bit šu stātəd up ən leind on ər elbou ən 60 ākpd. šu ied e soft, perin noiz en nā en den e sand ez if sumot we skratin wud. 'oe die(r),' šu sed, 'its nuen im, its nobed tkat et s midles fer e drop e milk.' it we nu(e) ius An trai-in to fool o'slīp, šu kudnt, suo šo dond o'sen on krept

65 reit pratli dān tsteəz. oəl wər əs koud ən sailnt əz ə tšətš əv ə wikdeə. Sam wə nuəwiə tə bi sīn, bəd iz wātə dudz wə guən, suə šə niu id set of sumwiə(r)—bəd wiə(r)? šu samd up tfaið šūl, þirðkin šud guð tð tbodm ð tjād tð tkoiloil en fots e sulfl e koilz, net et se pout e litin tfaie(r), oe, 70 nou, šud eit it suinə(r), bəd šud get cəl redi fər im, su(ə) əz ə kəd ev ə bleəz in ə minit. bəd, bə-oud! wen šə wontəd tə gu(ə) āt šu fan ət d'uə wə fest, ən šu kudnt opm it. šu wər ə priznə lokt up i tās. wen šə boutəd ə bed-rām duər ən bafld ər uzbn, šu laft reəli, þinkin it wər ə vari guid 75 džuak; bad wen ša wa bafld an bestad a sen šu kudnt laf. uða fouk mad apm a sīn tfun ont, bad An didnt-su brast āt ə ruərin. if šəd ed oni wāk tə guə tul šud ə guən tə tmiln, if šə kəd ə getn āt ə tās; bəd šu ed nə wāk, šud gīn up e liumz, fe Sam ed sed, 'Sasl nive gue te tmiln egien, 80 las, əz lon əz a kn kip və. wen sə bə þout ər ə vem wədz šu ruəd ādə nər ivər ən püld sum eər of ər iəd ən flen it on tfluə(r), əz if ðat, sumā, kəd mend matəz. oəl ət wuns šə be bout er et tnekst due neeber ed e kei et ed opm dee duə(r), suə wen šəd babt ər in wi koud wotə(r), šu stātəd ə 85 pundin tfaie bak wi tpueke(r). In e bit tneebe wumen kom āt ən stead in at twinda ta sī wot war up. 'am lokt in,' sed An, 'a wont je te opm d'ue wi jāe kei.' tneebe ran uem fe tkei en opmd d'uer in e krak. 'wotive did jer uzbn lok je in fo(r)? sed tneebe(r). 'wa,' sed An, trai-in te laf, it 90 sīmz id fəgetn mə, it iznt twenti fouər āəz jət sin wi wə tīd tə ge 8ə(r), ən ə man kānt get intə niu weəz oəl ət wuns. a de se(e) it ed tlien slipt iz maind et i ed e waif, su(e) iz lokt d'uər ən teən tkei in is pokit əz iuzl. Samz ə tšap ət bo'dəz iz ied e guid bit wi tpe petiuel muešn. en av īvm noen im 95 set of to tpump wi tfaio šūl in iz and on čen kum slipkin bak fə twotə kit. puər An sed oəl dis in ə məri of-and weə et ed e disievd tvari oud lad isen, bed it didnt blind twumen et livd tnekst due(r). es še went bak tev er oen ās šu sed, lou dān, 'Sat wumən z bin ruərin, Sez ə fratš on bi 100 nā.' wel, a diu birak ət dat dee we tlorist, drī-ist, en muest

mizrəbl deə ət ivər An əd past sin šə wə boən. wot əd be kum e Sam šu kudnt im adžn, i didnt kum nie fer e bait e dine(r), et givin oue taim i nive tend up, en et ten etlok et nit šed nive sin is fees. if še went wuns te tentri end, šu went ə undəd taimz i tāə tə ākıə fər is fuit, bəd it 105 wər oəl i veən. Sam wə noədə tə bi iəd nə sīn. twast ont wo(r), šu kudnt fešn tə guə sīk for im, šu felt əz if šəd reəðə dī nər oni ə tmiln lasəz səd no(ə) ət Sam əd left ə tvari de(ə) aftə twedin deə. oəl þouts ə konkrin ər uzbn ən setin up fe tmeeste we skated to twind; it we fae bete to 110 bi oni suət əv ə drudž ən sleəv nə liv dat weə; su(ə) ət aftə ten ə tlok ət nīt, šu kinld tfaiər ən meəd əz nais ə supər əz anz ked mak, net fer e seln, bed fe Sam. es fer e su ednt etn ə māþfl oəl dat blesid deə, nə kudnt; de wər ə lump in ə proit se big et se kudnt swole et oel. es fe Sam, wier ed 1 115 bīn ən wot ed i bin diu-in? aftə liəvin uəm i went streit təv iz wāk, gat iz brekfəs ən iz dinər ət ə kofi-šop, ən ət oəf past faiv ət nīt wondəd up ən dān tstrīts əz dezələt ən mizrəbl əz oni man wīl kan bī. əz ə wə moəndrin up ən dān i dis wee i gat mikst up wi e krād e fouk oel gu-in i 120 wun direkšn. i went wi tstriem, fer i didnt kee mitš wier e went, en et last fan isen in e tšapil. in e wail en oud man, wi ə feəs laik ən eəndžilz, stuid up ən preitšt laik ən eəndžil, preitšt piəs bə twīn kuntri ən kuntri, piəs bə twīn man ən man, ən last əv oəl, piəs bə twin man ən waif. it 125 sīmd tə Sam əz if, sumweə, toud man əd getn tə noə wot wer up betwin im en twaif, fer i liukt streit et im en teld im de sed bi ne strugl fe tmeestesip be twin man en waif, bed ət in oəl birz, big ə litl, luv səd bi tmeəstə(r). wen Sam gat āt ə dat tšapil iz āt bo gan tə sofn tād iz jun waif, tə 130 mak eks kiusəz fər ə kondukt, ən aftər ə desprət batl wi is praid et lasted wol elevm p.m. i bout id gu(e) uem en trai tə fə get ən fə giv. wen ə gat niə tentri end, i tutšt ə duə step wi is fuit, ən wə vari niə foolin. An so(ə) im ən ran intə tās ripin ər anz ən krai-in 'oə diə(r), iz drukıə, iz 135 drukp.' tpue las desnt fees im i like(r), sue še id esen

ə bak ə tkitšin duə(r). in ə bit Sam kom in, bəd nət drukm, i wə soubər i nif ən sorəfl i nif. i sat im dān i tām tšeər ən liukt rānd. tfaiəsaid wə wām ən brīt ən taidi, ə nais supə 140 wə redi, is slipəz leən bi tfendə(r), ivriþim dun fər is kumfət ət wumən kud diu. i leind bak in is tšeər ən šu kəd sī t i əz wun aftər ə nu və run sloəli dān is feəs. in ə bit An ventəd tə kum āt ən sed pitifli, 'Sam!' i tənd iz iəd, iz legz peətəd, ən i eld āt iz āmz. i les nər ə tik-tak šə wə 145 siətəd on iz nī, wi ər āmz rānd iz nek, sobin əz if ər āt əd brek. aftə vat ve wə nivə nout sed əs tə 'uə z tə bi tmeəstə(r)'; buəþ sed 'luv sl bi tmeəstə(r),' ən vat satld it.

VI.

EN OUD BOIZ REKELEKŠNZ.

'tānd fifti!' bi tmegz, bad its taim ta bi liukin rānd tkoənəz nā, ən nuə mis tak. džust ə bit lon ər ən as bi wun ə dem lenki tšaps bāt šuin, ən stokinz ivə sə mitš tə big, ət Wiliam tooks obat i tpleo. bed a nuen laik it, en dat s wen ə tšap kumz tə ðat, wot kumz təv im? wa, īz 5 nokt ə bat þriu pilə tə puəst, ən tmuəst ət fouk se(ə) on im iz-'ai, puər oud tšap, īs sīn iz best deəz.' its tšiəfl, kumfətin toək iz ðat fər ə tšap ət s muild ən broild, ən duin iz best tə kīp bodi ən soul tə geðə(r), ən apm riəd ə lot ə jun ənz tə elp tə kari on twəligig biznəs ə twəld. aftər oəl its 10 laik stopin ət ə guid beətin šop wen ə tšap s reikt iz oəf sentri, əz it giz im ə tšons ə samin isen tə geðə laik, ən makin ə dženrəl baləns up ə oəl iz dun ən left undun. a wunder a moni on ez l bi eebl te stand it en kum of wi e balens e treit said! am fit te bink dez nobed ier en die wun. 15 es fe misen, al tak tult en mak ne buenz e bat it—av bin e regle raskl þriu tfest wik a we boen. mi muðe s sed sue moni ə taim, su(ə) it mun bi triu. ā-ivər a kəd fešn tə liuk ər it feəs aftə t'aimz səs teld mə vat, a kanət imadžin, ən am nuən ban tə dis piut it, nət ai. Bez moni pazn muə bin 20 teld tseəm teəl. su(ə) as nuən bi bāt kumpni. bəd liəvin džuokin o said, a rieli on onistli bo līv a wor o raskl i mi jur deez. tnumer e kitling iv protld, duks iv traid to mak piek, donkiz teelz iv prikt, presavz iv stoun, tlues-kuedz iv snikt, windəz iv brokı, fati-keaks iv etn, ən misdə mianaz 25 bāt numer et ed e bīn e epin džob i toud fešud taimz wen epin wə fešnəbl, oəl diəz kraimz ən moni muə raiz up

laik guəsts kundžəd bi dem tū wədz-'tənd fifti.' a meə bi bout a braznt and, bad des sum a mi triks al bi end if 30 im sori fo nā! a wodnt giv ə tos fər ə junstər ət eznt ə spāk ə divlri ə bāt im. wot if ə duz galəp þriu ə siut ə tū ə tluəz ə jiə(r). ad reə və peə fər ə siut ə kuədiroi nər ə wudn ən oni taim. Te wer e trik a wuns pleed toud skuil misis, oud Mali Begstə wī koəld ə(r). ə reər oud las wə Mali i d'eəz 35 be fue skuil buedz en bued skuilz we bout on. šu wer e bat tšap əv ə beəl ə botni, wi ə feəs laik ə raizin sun stikin āt ə t'op; litl fat āmz, ən anz əz big əz ə šūldər ə mutn. ked noede rid ne rait, bed dat didnt mater i dem deez. 'wor eəbl tə beək avə-keək, ā-ivə(r), ən ðat wər ə muə 40 konsikwens tə Mali. wel, wot bə twīn beəkin avə-keək ən liukin after e bāt twenti bānz, Mali ed e wāk set. a duent no(ə) ā šəd ə getn on, if šə ednt ə ed tə iuz ə bibl i tavəkeak biznas. it kom in sa andi ta wokn uz jun anz up wi, ən kīp əs briu fratšin. it wər ə bit oəkəd sumtaimz wen 45 Mali əd bin stərin thin uət-meil, ən sudnli snigd thibl at tə gi sum on əz ə swiləkər on tsaid ə tfeəs. toud las wə reəðə fond ə wopin mī, bəd a di tāmind tə e mi ri vendž, ən wun de(ə) ad ə fain tšons. Mali wə dān ə wun fuit, ət reəðə spoild ə woəkin. Se wər ə peər ə kats ət toud las wə vari 50 fond on, sue wot did i diu bed tī bueb de teelz tegeder en in əm ouə tband wiə Mali un ər avə-keək. a niu šəd fleər up di·rektli šə soə tkats i öə kwiə pə·zišn. a niu tiu ət šəd mak streit fə mī wi tbibl, suə direktli a so(ə) ə kumin a wopt ə soft avə-keək on tə tfluə reit i toud las weə, ən dan 55 šə kom əs flat əz ə flāndə(r). bai gou, wornt dər ə meələk i tmiul-oil oel in e minit. toud wumen fiumd en rould ə·bāt, wi ə šoət leg stikin up i teə(r); tkats splutəd ən feət; tladz ən lasəz ran skampərin āt intə tstrīt; ən ai wər ə bāt tfēst on em, fer a niu wot ed apm if i didnt kut mi stiks. 60 eə diə(r), vem oud fešnd taimz! vez nuə sitš meələkin i diez deez! ast laik te sī tlad wi tpluk te sāv sitš en e trik on ə skuil buəd misis! wa, id bi wəb iz weit i Džiudi Barit umbugz. wel, after id ed e fest-reet skuilin, sitš ez ladz

gat i dem deez, a we put prentis tev e gruese(r). nā, a duent no(ə) ə muə trai-in sitiweəšn fər ə lad wi ə weəknəs fə swīt 65 stuf nər evin trun əv ə gruəsə šop—Jat iz, wol ə gets ə regle sikner en den il wiš isen et tnoep poul, e sum sitš spot wie de sak ais-šaklz fe de foenuin drinkin. litl Nati Belše we mi meeste(r), en a we wot de koel e indue prentis, wits ment nout bed wāk, de(e) in en de(e) āt, en sleevin e'wee tū 70 ə þrī nīts bə said, wen de wer out te diu i wei-in punz e siuger en penebs e suep, en sits laik. a didnt se mits kee fe dat et fest, kos ad e fain tsons e pitsin inte figz en reezinz, ən siugə kandi, ən traifiz ə dat suət, bəd, bi gou, dat suət ə piro duznt last fər ivə(r). its kapin ā suin swīt stuf gets əz 75 bitər əz goəl wen ə tšap ez is ful swim at it. ai imadžin its ə bāt tseəm wi wot və koəl tplezəz ə vis wəld i dženrəl. ā-ivər it tiuk ə bit ə taim tə brin mə tə tstoəleisn point, apm ə bit lonə nər it əd ə dun sum ladz, ən bə fuər it did ad reəgər ə kwiər əd ventə(r). mi misis wər ə bit əv ə so skriu, ən kəd ādli þoil mə i nif tə eit, su(ə) a tiuk it āt i siuge kandi er out et i laikt i tšop, en nout bed reit, noəδə(r). ā iz ə grou-in lad tə þraiv bāt džok? wel, it apmd wun sundə tmoənin ət i felt oəfl pekiš aftə mi brekfes, en ad etn ivri moesl up et toud las put at. a 85 dēsnt as fə nə muər ər els ast ə getn ə flī i mi iər-oil. getn dond redi fə t'sapil, fə toud las wə vari pə tiklər ə bāt mə bi-in reit brout up, šu sed, if šə did pinš mə i vitlz. i dem deez ladz laik mī wee beles-kaps wi taslz on, en rand krimpt koləz, ən al stand it a wər əs fain əz onibodi mi saiz, 90 bed wot s dat wen e tšap s pinšt in iz džok. wel, it we getin vari nie tšapil taim, en a niu a sed e te meetš i tfrunt ə Nati ən twaif, bəd if jəl bə·līv mə, ad dat kreəvin i mi insaid a ked ev etn e bit e rainoseres, aid en oel. sue wot did i diu bəd nip intə tšop tə get sumət tə lain mi stumək 95 wol dine taim. a niu ad ne biznes Sier e sundez, bed umə(r), de seə, iz ə šāp þoən, ən bi gou its triu. wel, a ednt bin i tšop ə minit wen i iəd tmisis sipin āt-'Džosiuə! Džosiue!' dat we mi neem, en toud las we sīkin me. bed

100 a wə nuən ban tə liəv bat sumət, su(ə) a seəz od əv ə šaiv ə unikeak at toud las ius ta mak up ta sel-reit swit stuf it wo(r)-slapt it inte mi beles-kap āt e tsīt, en gat te d'ue džust əs tmisis wə bə ginin tə bel āt 'Džosiuə'! ə giən. su(ə) of wi set to t'šapil. eo, dio(r)! it wo twast diu ivor i ed, 105 we dat. it we reeder e wam moenin en a we swietin laik e brok fə fiə toud las səd sə spekt sumət. a dəsnt tak mi kap of, kos a we woekin džust i tfrunt e buep tmeester en tmisis, bed it wer e roki rued te Džoedn, we čat woek! ez a wāmd up a kəd fīl tunikeək stərin ə mi iəd əz if it wə 110 wik, bed on a med gue. et last wi gat te tprimitiv sop, en əf kuəs a ed tə dof mi beləs-kap. wel, wot wi twam moenin en mī swietin, tunikeek we stuk fest on t'op e mi ied, en we beginin te swiel dan tsaidz e mi fees te dat de grī wol ad e unikeek wig en nue mistak. a wient tel 115 oəl id tə undəguə þriu Sat džob, bəd a bleəm tmisis fər it oəl i nət findin mə džok i nif. av stoun moni ə anfl ə figz, ən reəzinz, ən binz ə dat suət, if də koəl it steilin, bəd ai duənt wen ə grou-in lad eznt i nif grub gin im, aftər iz adld it əz ai did wi Nati Belšə(r). eə wel; ā diəz ladis teəlz kum 120 təv ə bodiz maind; ən a nobəd menšn əm tə šeu ət ladzrasklz əz ðə āə(r)--ānt suə wiðāt koəz sumtaimz. Tez nuə tū weəz ə bāt it; moni on əm əd bi vari difrnt if də wə reit duin tul. am þirskin des sum ev uz oud boiz ev e lot te

ansə for i ðat biznəs. bəd a dārənt gu(ə) on ə bit lonə(r), 125 ðoə its kapin wot ə lot ə þinz duz kum intəv ə tšaps iəd wol is smūkin ə paip ən þinkin ə bat bi-in tānd fifti.

VII.

TOUD SAM TIUN.

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sum kouks wāmd mi nīz wi ðə dul red iət wen id swoləd mi milk ən pobz, suə tlois up tə tfendər a pūld mi siət ən a plantəd mi fīt ə tobz.

ðen lītin mi šoət blak paip, a swur reit bak i mi oud ām tšeə(r), ən a sat wotšin trik əz it reəz ən ur laik ə spərit i tmidnīt eə(r).

sistə Mali ən tbānz wər ə slīp upsteəz ðə wə piəs wi ðat bleətin kriu su(ə) a smūkt ən a þout ə mi weəstəd jiəz, ən ə twāk ət wə jət tə diu.

əz a liukt ət ðis laif ən ət tlaif tə bī, a sed tə misen, " ðā as! wi kumfət ða noəðə kən liv nə dī, fə ðas seəvd noəðə soul nə bras."

ðen spai-in oud Seətn ə straid ə t'lād ət wər up undə t'šeəmə fluə(r), a dubld mi neiv ən sed, "āk ðə, lad, al bi didld wi ðī nə muə(r);

if mi sinz bi laik lied, en laik koek mi pēs, wa dez nuebdi bed dī te þenk; bed wen twēldz e wik oude(r), dā gēnin kēs, as e bīn bueb te t'šētš en te tbenk."

den sum minits past oue me, sad en drī,	2 5
en mi þouts griu ez dāk es tnīt,	
wen sum drukp oud alz ət əd bīn on tsprī	
kom sipin laik mad up tstrīt.	
wi der anz en de fit de kept bietin t'aim	
əz dər āmz intə teə wə flun,	30
eə! ən twādz əv ə godləs ən sili raim	
təv ən oud sām tiun de sup.	
ai! t'aimz ət iv džoind i dat grand oud eə(r),	
wen oud frenz et mi said we sīn,	
wen mi laif wər ə sunšaini alidə,	3.
	U

wen mi laif wər ə sunšaini alidə,
ən öis wiznd oud wəld wə grīn.

i tlīt əv ə sun əts lon sin set
a sī t'sanil ə P(r)imruəz Brā

a sī t'sapil ə P(r)imruəz Brā, ən wot frenz on ə sabəþ deə ðiər əz met ət fər ivər əs peətəd nā.

ðe kum ən ðe smail ən ə weə ðe pas, bəd ðe oləs liəv wun i viu ə puə litl faðələs kuntri las, ət wuns sat i tsinəz piu.

wun kām sumə nīt əz wə sen tlast im

šu liukt i mi feəs reit ād;
ən ə lips wə wait ən ər īn wə dim
wen i džoind ər i t'šapil jād.

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ən šu sed tə mə, "Ben, a fīl feənt ən il, ða mən gi mə ði ām, oud lad;" ən šu wispəd sum wādz ət i þink on stil, fə ðe meəd mə reit prād ən dlad.

su(ə) a elpt ə wi keər ouə reəl ən stail, wol wə gat təv ə geədin duə(r), ŏen šu eld mə bi tand sitš ə loɔ, loɔ wail— 55 ən a so(ə) ər ə·laiv nə muə(r). wel, dis wold gets as koud an az ad as stil, an at taimz a fil fean saz diad, fa sad ad ta sleav at a lium an wil far a moasil a onist briad.

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muə nə twenti jiə šuz bin diəd ən guən, bəd wiərivə mi lot mə bī, wen tās əz oəl wišt ən im left ə·luən, šu oləs kumz bak tə mī.

av wišt ət id teld ə bi tgeədin duə(r)

ā dīp wə mi luv ən triu,
fər ə frenz, puə las, še wə feu ən puə(r)—
bəd nuə matə(r), a þink šə niu.

ā! if iver i get te jond plees ebūn, wier i len i mi āt te bī, 70 džust te ier e wuns mue sin dat oud sām tiun el bi evm ev itseln te mī.

VIII.

R).

it wə misti ən frosti ən dāk əz ə buit, ən sə koud jəd ə pitid ə tuəd, wen i iəd tə mi þirəkin ə līt litl fuit pit-patin bə-int mə ə truəd.

nā, ət faiv ər oəf past, əv ə koud wintə moən, ad nuə þouts əv ə kumreəd ət oəl, su(ə) a stuid wol və kom up ə bit əv ə bān, laik ə pegi-stik eərin ə soəl.

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'olou, las,' a sed, əz a tapt ər ə tkrān, 'ðal bi duin for i trivər ə tkiln; wot ātə, jə murəki, ən wiər ātə bān?' sez šū, 'ə šoət taimə tə tmiln.'

'if Sat meester e Sain z oni tšilde(r)' a sed, 'a sed laik em te meetš et Si bak; bed, a ges, if ted leed en āe loner i bed et treed ed begin te bi slak.'

'ai! meəstə,' šu sed, 'av iəd tguvnə swiər ət iz meəd nout bi t'reəd fə 'ŏis eədž, ən iz oəsəz ən karidžəz nips im sə beə wol ə ādli kən þoil tə gi weədž.

'ðen iz bout ən i steət, ən iz bīldin ə ās, eə! ən tkost ont nə moətl noəz jət; if wə pinš wol wə kubədz wiənt peəstər ə mās i kən nobəd džust stand on is fīt.

'i sez fərinəz latli əz meəd ə gət sprin,	25
ən &e liv on tšopt kabidž ən seəm;	
su(ə) it uinz im, jə sī, tə šut bras laik ə kip,	
ən ven sel i tseəm meəkits wi vem.	
'if we duent wek fe litl, wi muent wek et oel,	
ən mi granfaðə sed jəstənīt	30
if it wornt fo tšoot taimoz ot tsistm od fool,	
ən tpliušeə kum bak intə tstrīt.'	
a liukt of tī end ət ðat wiznd oud bān,	
ən a sed, 'it ə piəz laik tə mī	
ət tfaktri ən tmanšn ən tmeən ə tkonsān	35
əz upodn bi midžez laik ðī.	
iər a peətəd wi tbān, ən a kudnt bəd laf,	
oo(ə) a felt nuən sə mitš ət mi iəz,	
fər a bout tə miseln—its ə boni kum of	
if wa pront hi sits pilaz az diaz	40

IX.

NAM NIRETAK

nuə dāt jəl oəl əv iəd ə bāt təpolə Belvədiə(r), ə stati þout bi sum tə bī frə ivri feəlin tliə(r).

oəl reit ən streit i mak ən šap, ə moud fə treəs ə men: ə dānreit, upreit, benup tšap, nət mitš unlaik misen.

5

IO

15

20

nā, voə jə no(ə) iz nout bəd stuən, i liuks sə grand ən big, ət litl dəst je pūl iz nuəz, ə lug is twistəd wig.

pratli, reit pratli ouə tfluə(r) ə tip-ə-tuəz jə woək, ən od jə briəþ fə vari oə, ən wispə wen jə toək.

ðiez ðat e bāt im—bed a noent net reitli ā te see t et maks je fīl ez smoel es þīvz e nent e madžistreet.

jev sīn ðat dolt e muki tlee e tfees e Pudse Duez; toud madlin z woen it oel iz laif, en fansid it e nuez.

ðə soə wun i dəsen.

en tbest e tšaps l find vesen et taimz i tfouti tlas; av dubld neiv e fue te-dee et tfuil i tsīmin dlas.	60
bed twāst e fouts et aiv sīn jet, i wumen er i man, is twieri, neegin, newin tēn et pleegd pue naterin Nan.	
a went wun sumər aftənuin tə sī ə puər oud man. ən ādli ed i dākıəd d'uə(r), wen twərit dus bə gan:	65
'eə! wa! did ivə(r)! wot ə triət tə sī ði faðəz sun; kum forəd, lad, ən sit ðə dān, ən al set tketl on.'	70
'neə, neə,' a sez, 'am nuən ə 'ðem ət koəlz ət t'aim bi t'lok, ən bumps əm dān i tkoənə tšeə(r), ən dluəz reit ād ət tdžok.'	75
ðā nuənkeət, wi tə od ði tun? il suin bi iər a þimk, suə, if tə l sit ən līt ði paip, al fotš ə suəp ə drimk.	80
'oud las,' sez ai, 'ðat ei i buən, ən reəðə lou i bīf.' 'ai, bān,' sez šū, 'ðis jiər ə tū av ed ə diəl ə grīf.	
'am net e wumen et oft speiks, e sinz fouk duelfl senz, bed ai kn tel mi maind te vī,	85

ða noəz wot þinz bə·lenz.

'daz nuətist ai nuən liukt sə stat, en ai ko triuli see, 90 fre tlast bak end e tjie te nā av net bin wil e dee. 'en wot wi siknes, wot wi grif, am duin da mee di pendits bīn ə wiəri muild ən teu, 95 bed nā it gets nie tend. 'av bout oel tsister et i ev ə blak mərainə gan; fouks pinks am reali of, bad, lad, am þenkfl et im ban. LOO wi twold, on ivripin ot s int, am krost tə ðat də grī ət moni ə taim i d'eə av preəd tə lig mə dān ən dī. 'wot aiv to tak fro tliest i tas 105 əz muə nə fleš kən biə(r); it iznt džust e taim bi tšons, bəd ivri de(ə) i tjiə(r). nuə livin soul ətop ə tiəb we traid ez aiv bin traid; 110 dez nuəbdi bəd də Loəd ən mi et noez wot iv ed to baid. fre twind i tstumek, triumetizm, en tenin peenz i tgium, fre kofs en kouds en tspain i tbak, 115 av sufed mātedium. bed nuebdi pitiz me e þiraks am eəlin out ət oəl; tpuə sleəv mən tug ən teu wi twāk wol ivə šū kən kroəl. 120

'en Džoni z tmuest unfilin briut et ive weer e ied: i wodnt weg a and a fuit if ai wer oel bed died. 'i tmidst e oel iv ed te diu 125 dat rueg we nive tman tə fotž ə koil, ə skāər ə fleg, ə weš ə pot ə pan. 'fouk sez āə Sal l suin bi wed, bed thouts ont tenz me sik; 130 ad reader in er up bi tnek, ə sī ə bərid wik. 'ən if i þout ə bān ə main we boen to lied mai laif, a sudnt bink it wor a sin 135 tə stik ə wi mi naif. 'av ast āə Džoni twenti taimz tə brin ə swip tə d'uə(r); bəd nā əfuər il speik əgiən al sit i tās ən smuə(r): 140 'en den—guid greises, wot e wind kumz wiuwin þriu d'uə snek; a felt it oəl tlast wintə(r), laik e with et mi nek. 'dat sink paip, tiu, gat stopt wi muk 145 ə·būn ə fotnit sin, su(ə) ivri āər i d'eə wi tslops am trešin āt ən in. 'oo! wen i bink ā aiv bin tret, ən ā i teu ən straiv— 150

te tel de tonist triub, am kapt

tə find miseln ə laiv.

'wen īz bin reəkin āt ə tnīt,

ət tmeəkit ər ət tfeə(r), sitš þouts əs kum intə mi iəd əz liftəd up mi eə(r).	I 5 5
'av þout, "ai, lad, wen tā kumz uəm, ðal find mə un bi tnek;" ən ðen av me bi þout ə giən ət kuəd əd apm brek.	160
'ər els av mutəd, "if it wornt sə dāk, ən koud, ən wet, ad guə tə tnavi ə tə d'am ən drānd miseln tə-nīt."	
'its grīf, lad, nout ət oəl bəd grīf, ət weəsts mə deə bi deə; suə Seətn temps mə, kos im weək, tə put miseln ə weə.'	165
toud tšap ied peet e wot še sed ez i kom tlompin in, en šāted in e red feest reedž, 'od, rot it! od 'vi din.'	1,0
ðen Nan bo-gan to froþ en fium,en fiz laik botld drimk;wot, ðen, ðaz ented tās o gien,ða ofld liukin slimk!	175
'ða nivə kumz ðiəz duəz wiðin bəd ðā mən kās ən swiə(r), ən straiv tə brim mə tə mi greəv wi brīdin əriz iə(r).	180
'fro ðī on ðain sin wed wo wo(r) av teon nu(o) end o grīf, on nā ða stamps mo undo tfuit, ðā mōðorin ruog on þīf.	

'ðā viln, gi mə wot i brout ðat de(ə) ət wī wə wed, ən nivə muə wi wun laik ðī wil ai set fuit i bed.'	185
iə d'oudi liftəd təv ər īn ə jiəd ə linin tšek, ən sobd ən ruəd ən rokt əsen, əz if ər āt əd brek.	190
ən δ en δ en δ en reəv reit up bi truits ə anfl əv ər $\Theta(r)$, ən fitəd laik ə dī in duk, ən δ en δ et ə t' δ eə(r).	195
'aə! Džoni, run fə d'oktə(r), lad, a fīl a kānt tel ā;' sez Džoni, 'līt 'ði paip ə·giən šul kum ə·bāt i-nā.'	200
bəd betər ed it bīn fər im if īd niə stād ə peg; mai geətəz! wot ə poəz i gat frə Nanz riumatik leg.	
suin, vari suin, šu kom ə bāt ən flun ən teər ən reəv, i sitš ə we(ə) əs feu kəd diu wi wun fuit i və greəv.	205
ðen at it went ə tup ə giən ðat minit šu gat iəz, 'ðā viln, ða, ða noəz ði weəz bripz on sitš gādz əz ðiəz.	210
'ae! if ted straik me stif et wuns, e stab me te mi āt,	215

'unfīlin briut! unfīlin briut! a nie we wīl en stron; ðez nobed wun þin tšiez me nā— a kan net last se long.	2 20
'tə stand up fər ə þim ət s reit it iznt i mi neətə(r); ðez fouk ət noəz i oləs wo(r) ə puə(r), soft, kwaiət kriətə(r).	
'wun pin ai kn see, if te-nīt mi laif sed end it lies, av duin mi diuti en a noez av oles strivm fe pies.	225
'a no(ə), a no(ə), ət im i tgeət— ðaz uðər uəts tə þreš, suə, wen im duin fo(r), ðā mə wed jond guid fə nout jun treš.'	230
ðen Nan pūld sumət āt ə d'roə(r), wait əz ə sumə tlād, sez ai tə Džoni, 'wot s ðat ðiə(r)?' sez Džoni, 'its ə šrād.	235
'ən kofin kom tiu, bəd a sweə(r) a wodnt et i tās; suə wen šəz miuld šə seuz ət ðat, əs kwaiət əz ə mās.'	2 40
puə Nan liukt at mə wi ə liuk sə jondəli ən sad: 'Sal kum tə tbərin?' 'jəs,' a sed, 'a sal bi vari dlad.'	
'Sen bid Si muSə(r), Džoni kraid, 'ən as Si uəkl Ben; ən oəl ə preəz fə sudu diə) sl e mibest "eəmen."'	245

NOTES.

The (·) denotes that the following syllable has the strong stress, thus asem ive (I. 3), aim (I. 4). Before beginning the Specimens the reader is advised to read over §§ 249, 260, 341, 350 in the Grammar. In order to facilitate the reading of the Specimens, I have written get up instead of ger up, wot iz it? instead of wor iz it? etc. See § 290.

III.

Line 4, fot for it. 11, jie (§ 337). 17, on forms like we(e) see § 193. 22, die see § 354. 26, tmītin class meeting, prayer meeting. 34, nuen (§§ 357, 399). 37, on wel beside wīl see § 399. 63, sum en mad (lit. some and mad, a very common phrase) very angry. 73, sitš en e (§ 340). 80, on (see page 73 note). 89, bīzm (lit. besom) good-for-nothing. 99, āez read āz ours. 100, wi e tlate(r) and at the same time inflicted blows upon them. 101, þidz here used contemptuously of Grace's children. 106, mel ne mak pleonastic for meddle. 107, de (see page 112). 109, en oel (§ 399). 118, Džemeeke Jamaica rum.

IV.

Line 2, eeles ale-house, beer-house. 3, de (§ 390). 5, ont of it. 11, Ned e oud Bilz Ned (the son) of old Bill. 14, tšet (§ 381). 23, sete (lit. see thee) look! 34, dān-tsteez lit. down the stairs. 38, strak (§ 363). 52, Bili (§ 339). 88, must (§ 392). 108, let (§ 381). 128, it (§ 351).

V.

Line 14, tweivin šeed the weaving shed. 25, to thou (§ 350). 46, tes thou hast. 56, wist hush! 104, tentri end the end of the passage. 136, like(r) (lit. liquour) drink.

VI.

Line 8, muild en broild struggled hard. 25, snikt cut. 32, wudn en (lit. wooden one) coffin. 42, if so ednt e ed (lit. if she had not have had) if she had not had. This construction only occurs in subordinate sentences, and has probably arisen from contamination with such phrases as, sud or sed e dunt she would have done it; tladz ed e guen the boys would have gone. We generally say ad e lend jet if jed nobed e ast me I would have lent you it, if you had only (have) asked me. Cp. the end of §§ 389, 397. 48, we dan e wun fuit was down of one foot, i. e. one of her legs was longer than the other. 59, kut mi stiks make myself scarce. 86, e flī i mi ier-oil a box on the ears. 93, sat, see § 399. 100, seez (§ 382). med (§ 392).

VII.

Line 53, stail is the lit. Engl. form, see § 315. The same is also the case with midžez (VIII. 36).

IX.

After line 200 the following four lines have been inadvertently omitted in our Specimen:—

sez ai, 'a nivə so(ə) ə tšap sə iəzifl ən fat; 'al siuəlī len ə elpin and tə lift ər of ə tplat.'



INDEX.

[The alphabetical order in the Index is:—a, b, d, e, e, f, g, i, j,

k, l, m, n, p, o, p, r, s, š, t, þ, ð, u, v, w, z, ž.

The numbers after a word refer to the paragraphs in the Grammar. When no number occurs after a word it means that the word occurs only in the Specimens.

a 1, 350. ā how, 171, 399. abed yes but, 291. abit habit, 194. ād *hard*, 61. **Adkisn** *Atkinson*, 267, 291. adl to earn, 57, 257. ādli, hardly, 399. ādn to harden, 61, 247. $\bar{a}e(r) our, 172, 351.$ $\bar{a}e(r)$ hour, 236. $\bar{a}e(r)$ are, 61. afte(r) after, 57, 400. ai I, 95, 350. ai yes, 399. aid hide, 175, 361. aidl idle, 156. aien *iron*, 157, 259. aio(r) to hire, 176. aim hoarfrost, 156, 258. ain hind, 156, 268, 303. ais ice, 156. ais-šaklz icicles. aiv hive, 175, 283. $\bar{\mathbf{a}}$ -ive(\mathbf{r}) however, 399.

aivi *ivy*, 156. akoen acorn, 57. aks axe, 57. aks (as) to ask, 125, 312. **aktli** *actually*, 194, 247. al I will, 250. āl owl, 171. āl to howl, 235. ali aisle, alley, 194. alidə holiday, 125, 243. alz fools. am am, 57. am ham, 57. ām *arm*, 61. ām harm, 61. ame(r) hammer, 57, 243. amet am not, 272, 396. $\bar{a}mive(\mathbf{r})$ however, 171, 399. and hand, 57. and hound, 115. anfl handful, 299. anl handle, 57, 247, 298. āns *ounce*, 235, 337. ansem handsome, 299. anse(r) answer, 57, 251.

antm anthem, 57, 286. anvil anvil, 57. anz hands, 302, 310. ap to wrap up (with clothes), 57, 317. **āp** harp, 61. apl apple, 57, 247. apm (lit. happen) perhaps, 270, 399. apren apron, 196. are arrow, 57, 243. arend notoriously bad, 207. arend *spider*, 194, 304. **as** ash, ashes, 57, 312, 337. as (aks) to ask, 125, 312. ās house, 171, 310. $\bar{a}semive(r)$ howsoever, 399. ask dry, rough, harsh, 312. as-midin ash-pit, 57, 312. at hat, 57. āt heart, 74. āt out, 171. at thou art, 61. avək havoc, 194, 322. ave(r)-meil oat-meal, 57. āvis, āvist harvest, 61, 245, 292. āz ours, 352.

bā to bow, 171, 315.
bad bad, 144, 343.
bad (pret.) invited, 57, 373.
bai to buy, 315, 382.
baid to endure, put up with, wait, stop, remain, 156, 361.
bait to bite, 156, 361.
bak back, 57.
bāk bark, 61, 312.
bāk to bark, 74.
bakə tobacco, 246.
bakəd backward, 243.

bakedz backwards, 251. bākm collar of a horse, 74, 315. bak-stn the iron plate on which out cakes are baked, 70. baleks testiculi, 243. bāli barley, 61, 245. bām barm, 74. ban (pret.) bound, 57, 301. bān child, 61, 259, 280. bān barn, 74. bān going, 171, 303. band string, cord, 57. bans to bounce, 115. bānti bounty, 235. bare *barrow*, 57, 243. baril barrel, 194. bas door mat, hassock, 57. bastail workhouse, union, 234, 243. basted bastard, 195, 243. bāt about, without, 171, 242, 246, 289, 400. bap bath, 57, 306. bed bed, 73. bed-steid bedstead, 87. beebe (\mathbf{r}) barber, 203. beed to bathe, 70, 308. beədž barge, 203. beagn bargain, 203, 247, 271. beek to bake, 70, 312. beakas bakehouse, 243. beekp bacon, 204, 247. beel bale, 204. beeli bailiff, 204, 245. been near, direct, 84. beə(r) bare, 70. bee(r) (pret.) bore, 70, 369. bees bass, 195. beet bait, 84. beet to abate, 246.

beete(r) to barter, 203. bef to cough, 73, 280. beg bag, 59, 315. beg to beg, 73. beid bead, 87. bek beck, 73, 280, 312. bel bell, 73. bele to bellow, 73, 315. belas-cap a cap bordered or adorned with lace. belesez bellows, 73, 338. beli belly, 73, 245. belt belt, 73. bend to bend, 73, 381. ben to throw, hit violently, 59, 280. benk bank, bench, 59, 73, 312. ben-up very good, excellent. besk to bask, 60, 306, 310, 312. best best, 73, 343. bešfl bashful, 197. bete(r) better, 73, 343. bezl to embezzle, 206, 246. **b**ə *by*, 400. bed but, 174, 291, 401. bād bird, 90, 261. bēdn burden, 120, 306. be-eev to behave, 70. bə-fuə(r) before, 242, 400. be-gan began, 57. bə-gin to begin, 89, 242, 315, 367. bə-gun *begun*, 111. be-int behind, 305, 400. **bēk** birch, 90, 259, 312. bo-kos because, 225, 401. bol to pick out small pieces of straw, etc. from flannel or *cloth*, 228. bol at to draw or pour out

(drink to or for any one),

120.

bə-liəf belief, 179. bə-līv to believe, 150. bēn to burn, 74, 261, 382. bere borough, 113. beri berry, 81, 245, 315. beri to bury, 120, 245, 258, 315. bə-said besides, 400. be-twin between, 187, 400. bāþ birth, 120, 259. **bi** by, 160, 400. bī bee, 187. **bī** to be, 187, 396. bid to invite to a funeral, 89, 280, 300, 303. bied beard, 68, 259: biək beak, 231, 322. biom beam, 178. bien bean, 179. biə(r) to bear, 75, 260, 369. bio(r) beer, 188. bies, biest beast, cow, 231, 292, 338, 381. biet to beat, 179, 381. **bīf** beef, 232. big big, large, 89, 315. bi gou, bi goi a kind of bi gum a kind of oath. bi-int, be-int behind, 89, 305. bild to build, 119, 254, 381. bin within, 89, 268, 400. bin been, 187, 396. bi nā by this time, 399. bind to bind, 89, 367. bin a bin, 89, 273. bit a bit, 89, 289. bite(r) bitter, 89. bi tmegs a kind of outh. bitn bitten, 89. bitš bitch, 89, 312. biu bough, 164, 315.

biuti beauty, 237. bizi busy, 117. bīzm besom, 79, 310. bizness business, 89, 310. blak black, 57. blast blast, 135. bleb blister, 280. bled bled, 148. blead blade, 70. bleem blame, 204. bleen blain, boil, 268. bleet to bleat, 133. bleetin kriu noisy children. bleez blaze, to blaze, 70, 310. bleg blackberry, 59, 314. bleitš to bleach, 138, 312. blemiš blemish, 327. blend to blend, 73. blenk blank, 197, 322. blenkit blanket, 197, 245, 322. bles to bless, 148. ble \eth e(r) bladder, 134, 243, 297. blid to bleed, 147, 381. blier-id blear-eyed, 300. blind blind, 89. blis bliss, 89. bliu *blew*, 190, 239. blium bloom, 164. bliuz (pl.) delirium tremens, 239. blob a bubble, bulb, 100, 254. bloe to blow, 123, 250, 377. blosm *blossom*, 169, 310. bluid blood, to bleed, 163, 381. bluid ali, see § 346 note. bluš to blush, 121. blu $\mathfrak{F}_{\Theta}(\mathbf{r})$ to cry, weep, 111, 280, 297.

bodi body, 110, 245, 315. bodm bottom, 100, 247, 264, 286. book balk, beam, 62, 312. boəl ball, 198. boold bald, 62, 254. boom balm, 198. boən born, 104, 259. boged ghost, 280. boil bole of a tree, 109. boil to boil, 216. boks box, 100. boni nice, pretty, 214, 245. bore to borrow, 100, 243, 315. botni Botany wool. bou bow, 315. boud bold, 64. boul bowl, 103, 220. bouste(\mathbf{r}) bolster, 103. bout bolt, 103. bout *bought*, 101, 318. brā *brow*, 171. braid bride, 175. braidl bridle, 156. brain brine, 175. brak (pret.) broke, 57, 369. brake a kind of fern, 57. brān brown, 171. bran niu quite new, 57, 301. branš *branch*, 195, 327. bras brass, 57. brast (pret.) burst, 57, 367. brat pinafore, 57. braznt brazen, impudent, 57. bred bred, 148. bree to beat, pound, 204. breed to resemble, act like another person, 84, 315. breen brain, 65, 315. breg to brag, 59, 315.

breitš a breach, 87, 312. brek to break, 88, 258, 312, 369. bren (pret.) brought, 59, 368. brest breast, 192. brīd to breed, 147, 381. bried bread, 179. bried-fleik a hurdle on which oat-cakes are dried, 87, 312. briedb breadth, 137. brieb breath, 131. brieð to breathe, 131, 306. brig bridge, 117, 280, 315. brigz *a trivet*, 315, 338. brim *brim*, 117. brim to put the boar to the sow, 89, 263. brimstn brimstone, 117, 247. brin to bring, 89, 258, 273, 367, 368. brīt bright, 93, 261, 318. britš breech, 312. britšez breeches, 149. briu to brew, 190, 250, 382. briuk brook, 164, 312. brium broom, 164. broitš to broach, 219. brok badger. brokp broken, 100, 247, 271. brob broth, 100, 338. brout *brought*, 167, 318. brued broad, 122. bruetš brooch. 218. bruid brood, 163. bruslz bristles, 121, 287. brusn (pp.) burst, 287. brust to burst, 261, 367. bruðe'r) brother, 169. buad bourd, 104, 259. buoko to belch, retch, 105, 271.

buen bone, 122. bue (\mathbf{r}) boar, 122. buet boat, 122. bueb both, 122. buin *boon*, 163. buit to boot, 163. buit *boot*, 221. **buið** *booth*, 163, 306. buizm bosom, 163, 247. buk *buck*, 111. **būk** book, 164. būk (būkþ) bulk, size, 112, 256. bukit bucket, 226. bul bull, 111. buldž to bulge, 226. bulək *bullock*, 111, 243. bulit bullet, 227, 245. bum-beəli bailiff, 204. bun (pp.) bound, 111, 280, 301. būn *above*, 283, 400. bunl bundle, 121. busk, to go about from place to place singing and playing for money, 174, 312. bust to bustle, 111, 287. bušl bushel, 227. bute (\mathbf{r}) butter, 111, 243. butn button, 226. butšə(r) butcher, 227. buzed butterfly, 226, 243, 291, 310.

-d had, 395.
-d would, 256, 397.
dāo(r) to dure, 61, 390.
daft foolish, silly, cowardly,
57.
daik dike, ditch, 156, 312.
daiv to dive, 175, 283, 295,
361.

220 INDEX.

dāk dark, 74. dāko to enter. dālin darling, 189, 259. dam large pond of water, 57. damidž damage, 194, 245, 328. dan to darn, 61. dān down, 171, 400. dān-reit downright. dāst *dust*, 171. dāt doubt, 235. deel dale, 70. deendže (\mathbf{r}) danger, 204. deenti dainty, 204. deat to dart, 203. deet date, 204. deəvi affidavit, 204, 246. deezi daisy, 65. deg to sprinkle with water, 59, 315. dein dean, 234. delf a stone quarry, 73, 283. delv to delve, 73, 283. demek potato disease, 206, 246. demekt diseased (of potatoes), 206. (pret.) reviled, reden proached, 59, 367. depp depth, 192. $\det debt$, 206. deu dew, 180, 250, 295. **də** do, 398. $d\bar{e}snt\ durst\ not$, 287. dēst durst, 113, 259, 390. di *do*, 398. dī to die, 79, 295. dī to dye, 150, 315. did *did*, 117. didl to cheat, deceive, 117. died dead, 179, 295.

diəf deaf, 179. diel deal, to deal, 137, 382. die(r) dear, 188. diep death, 179, 306. \mathbf{dif} -rnt different, 247. dig to dig, 89, 315, 373. $\dim dim$, 89. dim to deem, 147. din din, 117. $din \theta(\mathbf{r}) dinner, 211.$ dip up to reproach, revile, 76, 367, 368. dip to dip, 117. dip deep, 187.disiət deceit, 231, 234. disiev to deceive, 231, 244. distēb to disturb, 228. diš *dish*, 89. $di\delta \theta(\mathbf{r})$ to tremble, shiver with cold, 89, 297. diu *to do*, 164, 398. diu *due*, 237. $dium\ doom,\ 164.$ diuti duty, 237. $div\bar{a}e(r)$ to devour, 236. divl devil, 192. dizaio(r) desire, 230.dizi dizzy, 117, 245, 315. dizml dismal, 211. dlad glad, 57, 315. dlaid to glide, 156, 361. dlāmi sad, downcast, 171, 315. dlas glass, 57, 310, 315. dlazn to glaze, 57, 310. dlazne(r) glazier, 57. dlee(r) to stare hard, 70. **dlī** *glee*, 187. dliəm gleam, 137. dlite(r) to glitter, 89. dlium gloom, 164, 315. dlou to glow, 166, 250.

dlue(r) to stare, 165, 260, 315. dlueri glory, 224. dlumpi sulky, morose, 315. dlutn glutton, 226. dluv *glove*, 169. doeb to daub, smear, 225. Doed George, 329. doen dawn, to dawn, 63, 315. doen down, feathers, 173. dof to undress, 100, 295. dog dog, 100, 315. doi joy, darling, a pet word applied to children, 329. doit to dote, 219. **dok**p *a dock*, 100, 247. dolap lump of dirt, 278. dolt lump of dirt, 100. don to dress, 100, 268, 295. dons dance, 200. doudi a scolding, irritable woman. doute(r) daughter, 101, 318. draft draught, draft, 57, 319. drai dry, 175, 315. **draip** to drip, 175, 278. draiv to drive, 156, 283, 361. drand to drown, 115, 304. drāzi drowsy, 171. dreag to drawl, 70, 315. dreek *drake*, 70, 312. dreat to drawl, 295. dreg to drug, 59, 315. drego dragon, 197. dregz dregs, 73, 315. drenš to drench, 73, 277, 312. drepk drank, 59. dri dreary, gloomy, tedious, 150, 315. dried to dread, 131.

driem dream, 179, 382. driəri dreary, 188. drift drift, 89. drink to drink, 89, 273, 312, driu drew, 164, 315. drivm driven, 89. droe to draw, 63, 315, 375. drop *drop*, 100. druen drone, 122. druəv (noun) drove, 122. **druft** *drought*, 174, 315. druko drunk, drunken, 111, 247, 368. dub a small pool of water, dubl double, 226, 348. dudz clothes. duə doe, 122. Duød Joe, 329. duəf dough, 122, 315. duəfi cowardly, 122, 315. duəl dole, 122. due(r) door, 113. Duəz, Duəzi Joshua, 329. duin done, 163, 398. dul dull, 107. dum dumb, 111. dun to urge for payment, III. dun done, 398. dup dung, 111. duv dove, 174, 283. duz dost, does, 169, 310. duzn dozen, 226. dwāf dwarf, 74, 250, 315. dwinl to dwindle, 160, 250, 266, 298. džais joist, 229, 292, 310, 328. dželes jealous, 206, 243, 328. dželi jelly, 206, 328.

džen-rl general, 247. džēni journey, 228. džoem the side post of a door or chimney piece, 225, 328. džoenes jaundice, 225, 243, 328. džogl to shake, 100. džoi *joy*, 216. džoint joint, 216, 328. dšok food. džoli jolly, 214. džosl to jostle, 214. džoul to knock, strike, 254, 328. džudž judge, 226. džust just, 226.

e have, 283, 395. eb *ebb*, 73. ed had, 60, 395. edikéet to educate, 242. edž edge, 73. edž hedge, 73. ee hay. 153. eəbl *able*, 204. eedž age, 204, 328. eeg the berry of the hawthorn, 70, 315. eegifái to argue, dispute, 326. $eeke(\mathbf{r})$ acre, 70, 337. eel ale, 70. eel hail, 65, 315. eem to aim, intend, 204. eənšn ancient, 204, 247, 269, 293, 327. $ee(\mathbf{r})$ hair, 133. $ee(\mathbf{r})$ hare, 70. eet art, skill, 203. eet to hate, 70. efe(r) heifer, 186, 318. eft haft, 73, 283, 317. eg to urge on, incite, 73, 315.

eg egg, 73, 315. egrivéet to aggravate, 326. ei high, 182, 318. eit to eat, 87, 372. eit eight, 67, 318, 344. eit' eighth, 67, 344. eit height, 153, 318. eiti eighty, 344. eitīn eighteen, 344. eitint eighteenth, 344. eitit eightieth, 344. **el** *hell*, 73. eldə(r)-trī elder, 73. elm elm, 73. elp to help, 73, 278, 383. els *else*, 73, 357. elte(\mathbf{r}) halter, 60, 283. em hem, 73. emti *empty*, 143, 245, 279. en hen, 73. end end, 73. en (w. verb) to hang, 59, 382. en (pret.) hung, 59, 367. enk hank, 59, 312. enkə (\mathbf{r}) anchor, 59. enkl ancle, 59. emment (lit. hangment), used in the phrase: wot de enment? what the duce? See page 112. eskad newt, eft, 60, 312. esp hasp, 73. espin aspin, 60. eš ash-tree, 59, 312. etn eaten, 73. etš to hatch, 60, 312. eu ewe, 85, 250. eu to hew, 180, 250, 382. eu yew, 190, 250. ev have, 60, 283, 395. evi heavy, 73, 245, 315. evm even, 270.

evm heaven, 73, 247, 283. ez hast, has, 60, 283.

ө a, an, 128, 340.

on, 272, 400.

ө *of*, 283, 400.

ө he, 350.

ө have, 283, 395.

e-bāt about, without, 171, 242, 400.

ə-blīdž to oblige, 229.

ə-būn *above*, 112, 242, 283, 400.

ed had, 395.

ed would, 397.

ād *herd*, 90.

ādl hurdle, 120.

ed-vais advice, 229.

ed-vaiz to advise, 229.

e-fied afraid 131, 242.

ə-fuəd to afford, 104, 242, 306.

ə-fuə(**r**) before, 104, 242, 400.

e-geet in action, at work, 70, 242.

e-gien again, against, 179, 242, 400.

θ-**grī** to agree, 232, 242.

θ-guə *ago*, 122, 242.

e-kānt account, 235.

θ-kin akin, 117, 242, 312.

o-kos because, 225, 242.

ə-kuədinlái accordingly,242, 399.

el will, 397.

e-lā to allow, 235.

0-laiv alive, 156, 242.

e-len e along of, on account of, 400.

(θ)levm eleven, 81, 344.

(e,levnt eleventh, 344.

θ-luen *alone*, 122, 242.

 $em = m \ them, 264, 350.$

e-mant amount, 235.

 θ -men among, 59, 242, 400.

on an, 128.

on one, 345. on and, 301, 401.

e-nent anent, opposite, 73, 242, 283, 400.

e-noi to annoy, 216, 242.

e-plai to apply, 229, 242.

e(r) or, 128, 401.

 $\tilde{\mathbf{e}}(\mathbf{r}) her, 91, 350, 351.$

eri row, disturbance, noise, 113, 245.

e-said besides, 400.

e-seml to assemble, 206, 242,

e-sen, -sel, -seln herself, 353.

e-stied instead, 82, 242, 267,

et (rel. pr. and conj.) that, 356, 401.

ēt to hurt, 228, 381.

e top e (lit. on top of) upon.

ov have, 283, 395.

əv of, 400.

o-weo away, 84, 242.

əz us, 310, 350.

ez αs, 310.

ēz hers, 352.

fādin farthing, 189, 245, 276, 306.

fadm futhom, 57, 247, 306.

 $fae(\mathbf{r}) far$, 74.

 $faie(\mathbf{r})$ fire, 176.

fail *file*, 156.

fain *fine*, 229.

faiv five, 156, 283, 344.

Fakle Thuckley, 306.

fakt (pl. faks) fact, 194-322.

fal foul, ugly, 171.

fāl fowl, 114, 315.

falo fallow, 57, 243. fan fan, 57. fan (pret.) found, 57, 301. **f**ān *fern*, 61. fasn to fasten, conclude a bargain by paying earnest money, 57, 247, 287, 310. **fat** fat, 144, 289. fat pedere, 74. faðo(r) father, 71, 243, 283, 297. fed *fed*, 148. feed to fade, 204. feek trick, deception, 127. feel to fail, 204. feen fain, glad, 65, 315. feent to faint, 204. fee(r) fair, 65, 315. fee(r) to fare, 70. fees face, 204. feep faith, 204. feeve(r) to favour, resemble in appearance or manners, 204. feeve(r) fever, 84. feit to fight, 86, 289, 318, 367. fel to fell, 73. fel (pret.) fell, 192. felt (noun) felt, 73. **felt** (pret.) *felt*, 148. felte(r) to entangle. fend to provide for oneself, 206. fent remnant of a piece of cloth, 206. fešn fashion, 197, 247, 269, 327. fest fast, firm, 60. feőe(r) feather, 73, 306. feu few, 180, 250, 283, 357.

fezn pheasant, 206, 269, 293, fēd third, 306. fe-getn (pp.) forgot, 242. fēniš to furnish, 228. fēnitə(r) furniture, 228, 243 288. $fo(\mathbf{r})$ for, 400. fere furrow, 113, 243, 258, 318. fəri *first*, 346. ferin foreign, 224, 245. ferinez foreigners. fo-sak to forsake, 376. fo-seen forsaken, 312. fēst first, 120, 309, 344. fid to feed, 147, 381. fid1 fiddle, 89, 296. fiəbl feeble, 231. $fie(\mathbf{r})$ fear, 131. fies fierce, 233. flost feast, 231. fiet feat, 231. fiete(r) feature, 231, 288. fift fifth, 160, 289, 309, 344. fifti fifty, 160, 344. fiftin fifteen, 344. fiftint fifteenth, 344. fiftit fiftieth, 344. fig-wet figwort, 120, 243. fikl fickle, 89, 312. **fil** to fill, 117. fil to feel, 147, 382. fild field, 78, 254. filep to beat, flog, 278. film *film*, 89, 264. filþ *filth*, 177. fin fin, 89. find to find, 89, 300, 367, 368. find fiend, 187. finiš to finish, 211, 327.

fipe(r) finger, 89, 273. flok to think, 306. fipms fivepence, 160, 247, 270. fiš fish, 89, 312, 337. fit ready, prepared, 89. fit feet, 147. fite(\mathbf{r}) to kick the feet about. fluil fuel, 237. flute(r) future, 237, 243, 253, flao(r) flower, flour, 236. flaks flax, 57. $flande(\mathbf{r})$ a small flat fish. flask flask, 57. flat flat, 57. flee to frighten, 283. flee to skin, 183. fleek flake, 70, 312. fleem flame, 204. fleer up to get into a rage. fleg flag, 59. flen (pret.) threw, 59, 367. fleš flesh, 143, 312. flī to fly, 187, 315. flī fly, 187, 315. fliem phlegm, 206. flie(r) to laugh or sneer at, 98. flig to fledge, 117, 315. flik flitch of bacon, 89, 254, 312. flike(r) to flicker, 89, 312. flint flint, 89. flip to fling, throw, 76, 367, 368. flīs fleece, 187. flit to remove, 117. flit flight, 118, 318. fliu *flue*, 239. flog to flog, 315. flok *flock*, 100, 312.

flop to fall suddenly; flop oue tied to pull the bedclothes over one's head. flou to flow, 166, 250. floun flown, 102, 315. flue(\mathbf{r}) floor, 165. fluet to float, 105. **fluid** *flood*, 163. flumaks to confound, cheat, 283. flutə(\mathbf{r}) to flutter, 107. foofit to forfeit, 223. fook fork, 104, 312. foel to fall, 62, 254, 379. foel a veil, 62. form, 223. foe-nuin dripkin luncheon. foetn fortune, 223, 247, 288. **fog** *aftergrass*, 100, 315. foil foal, 109, 283. foisti fusty, 226. foks fox, 100. foks-dluv foxglove, 107. fole to follow, 100, 243, 315. fols false; in reference to a child implying that it is shrewd and witty beyond its years, 58, 225. fond fond, 100. $\mathbf{fo}(\mathbf{r})$ for, 400. fored forward, 243, 251. forediš rather forward, 243. $foste(\mathbf{r}) foster$, 169. foti forty, 192, 344. fotit fortieth, 344. fotn (pp.) fought, 100, 101, fotnit fortnight, 93, 192, 245. fotš to fetch, 80, 312. fode(r) fodder, 169, 297. foud fold, 64, 238. foue(r) four, 190, 344.

fouet fourth, 190, 309, 344. fouetin fourteen, 190, 344. fouetint fourteenth, 344. fouk folk, 103, 283. fout fault, 199, 256, 283. frai to fry, 229. fraide Friday, 156. fran to frown, 235. fratš to quarrel. fre *from*, 400. freem to make a start or beginning, 70, 283. frend friend, 192. frenz friends, 302. freš fresh, 73, 312. fro from, 400. frī *free*, 187. friet to fret, mourn over, 82, 381. frig coire, 315. frīt fright, 118, 261, 318. friut fruit, 239. frīz to freeze, 187, 365, 366. froad fraud, 225. frog frog, 100, 315. frost frost, 100. frob froth, to foam, 100, 306. frozn frozen, 100, 247, 269, 310. frunt front, 226. fudl to confuse, 283. fuedž to forge, 223, 328. fuom foam, 122. fue(r) before, 400. fues force, 223. fuid food, 163. fuil fool, 221. fuit (pl. fīt) foot, 163, 336, 337. ful full, 111. fulle(r) fuller, 111. fuml to fumble, 282.

fuzi soft, spongy, 283, 310. ga gave, 283. gab impudence, 57, 280, 315. gad to gossip, 57. gal the matter which gathers in the corner of the eye, 326. galak lefthand, 194, 248, 326. galap to gallop, 194, 243. gales gallows, 57, 315. galəsəz braces, 254, 328. galn gallon, 194, 337. gam game, to gamble, 57, 263. gami lame, 263. gān gown, 235. ganə(r) gander, 57, 243, 298, 315. garit *garret*, 194, 326. gat (pret.) got, 57. gāt *gout*, 235. gavlek crowbar, 71, 315. geo gay, 204. geed guard, 203. geedn garden, 203. geen gain, 315. geen near, direct, 84, 315. geop to gape, 70, 315. geet gate, 70, 315. geoto(r) garter, 203, 326. geg to gag, 59, 315. gen gang, 59. gen-wee thoroughfare, passage, 59. ges to guess, 206. gest guest, 315. get to get, 88, 315, 372. getn (pp.) got, 73, 286. geog(r) to gather, 60, 243, 297.

gezlin gosling, 148, 245, 276.

gād fit, bout.

fun (pp.) found, 111, 301.

fus fuss, 174.

gādl girdle, 120. gēn to grin, 74, 261. gās grass, 69, 261. gəsl gristle, 90, 261, 286, 315. gēt *great*, 185, 261, 289. gēts lit. greats, 177. gāþ girth, 306. gi give, 283. gidi giddy, 89. gien against, 400. gia(r) gear, 68.gift gift, 89, 283. gild to gild, 119. gilt a young female pig, 89, 315. gimlit *gimlet*, 211, 243. gin given, 79, 283. ginl a long narrow uncovered passage, 247. gīs geese, 147, 310. gium gum, 164. giv, gi to give, 77, 315, 372. gizn to choke, 211, 326. gizn gizzard, 211. God God, 100. goəki left-handed, 198. goəl gall, 62. goom heed, care, attention, 184. goomles silly, stupid, 184. goit channel, mill-stream, 109, 289, 315. gol goal, 217, 326. gosəp gossip, 91. gospl gospel, 100. goud gold, 103, 315. graim soot (on the kettle), 156. graip to gripe, 156. $\operatorname{gran-fa}\eth \Theta(\mathbf{r}),$ $\operatorname{gram-fa}\eth \Theta(\mathbf{r})$ grandfather, 194, 299. grant to grant, 195, 326. gree gray, 133, 315.

greenz (pl.) malt which has been used in brewing beer, 204, 338. grees grace, 204. greet grate, 204. greev grave, 70, 283. greez to graze, 70, 310. grīdi *greedy*, 130. griðs grease, 231. grif grief, 232. grīn green, 147, 315. grind to grind, 89. grip grip, 89. $grit\ to\ greet,\ 147.$ griu *grew*, 190. griuil gruel, 239. grou to grow, 166, 250, 378. gruen to groun, 122. gruəp to grope, 122. gruəv grove, 122. gruin snout of a pig, 221, 268. gruml to grumble, 226, 247. grund to grind, 381. grund ground, 111, 300, 315. grun-sil groundsel, 89, 111, 251, 299. grunt to grunt, grumble, find fault, 111. grunz (pl.) sediment, 111, 302, 338. guə to go, 122, 382. guad goad, 122. guen gone, 122. guə(r) gore, 122. guəst ghost, 122. guət *goat*, 122, 315. guid good, 163, 315, 343. guis (pl. gīs) *goose*, 163, 336. gulit gullet, channel for water, 226, 245. gust gust, 111. gut $\theta(\mathbf{r})$ gutter, 226.

guts entrails, belly, 111. guzl to swallow greedily, 226.

i *I*, 350. i *in*, 89, 272, 400. *i* he, 155, 350. ī (pl. īn) eye, 181, 315, 334. id *to hide*, 177. id I would, 250. īd *heed*, 147. idn (pp.) hid, 177. **ī-end** corner of the eye. iəb *herb*, 207. ied head, 179, 283. ied heard, 151. iege(r) eager, 231. iegl eagle, 231. iekwl equal, 231. iel to heal, 137. iel eel, 131. iəlþ health, 137, 306. ienis, ienist earnest, 74, 245. iep heap, 179. io(r) ear, 179. io(r) to hear, 151, 382. io(r) here, 154, 354, 399. ierin herring, 68. iernd errand, 131. iest east, 179. ieste(r) Easter, 179. iet heat, 137. ieb earth, 74. iegn heathen, 137. ie-wig earwig, 315. iez ease, 231. iezinz the eaves of a building, 276. if *if*, 89, 401. **ig** mood, temper, 117, 315. īgoi, an exclamation of surprise or wonder. ik to hitch, 89, 312.

il hill, 117. il ill, 89, 343. **il** heel, 147. ilt *hilt*, 89. im him, 89, 350. imin evening, 130, 270, 276, 283. in in, 89, 400. inā presently, 399. $inde(\mathbf{r})$ (occ. $inde(\mathbf{r})$) to hinder, 89, 296. indžn engine, 209, 247, 328. indžói to enjoy, 209, 244, 328. inif (sing.), enough, 164, 245, 315, 357. iniu (pl.) enough; 164, 245, 315, 357. inš inch, 117, 337. inte, intev, intul into, 400. inž *hinge*, 76, 315. in to hang, 76, 273, 367, 368. ingeedž to engage, 204, 209, 244. ink *ink*, 209, 322. ink think, 306. inliš English, 76, 273. inlnd England, 76, 247. ip hip, 117. ipin a cloth placed round the hips of children, 117, 245. is his, 351. i(s)sen, i(s)sel, i(s)seln himself, 353. it to hit, 89, 373. it it, 89, 289, 350. it its, 351. i tgeet in the way. its its, 352. itsen, itsel, itseln itself, 353. iðə(r) hither, 89, 297, 399.

iuk hook, 164, 312.

iuneti unity, 237, 253. iunien union, 237. ius use, 237, 253. iusfl useful, 237. iusles useless, 237. iuz to use, 237, 310. ive(r) ever, 145, 283, 399. ivri every, 145, 357. iz his, 89, 351, 352. iz is, 89, 310. ĭz he has, he is, 310.

jād yard, 61, 315. jāe(r) your, 190, 350. jān *yarn*, 61, 315. jare yarrow, 57, 243, 250. jāz, yours, 352. jel yell, 73, 315. $jelp \ yelp, 73, 315.$ jə ye, you, 252, 350. je(r) your, 351. jes yes, 91, 399. jesen, jeseln yourself, yourselves, 353. jesenz yourselves, 353. jest yeast, 81, 315. jestede yesterday, 81, 243, 315, 399. jestenīt last night, 399. **jet** *yet*, 81, 399. jĭ ye, you, 155, 252, 350. jied (3 feet) yard, 74, 337. jien to yearn, 74. jio(r) year, 131, 252, 337. jīld to yield, 78, 315. jiuþ youth, 190. joen to yawn, 80, 315. jole yellow, 80, 243, 254, 315. jon, jond yon, 80, 252, 354. jondeli vacant, beside oneself. jonde(r) yonder, 399.

juok yolk, 83, 105, 252, 315. juo young, 111, 252.

kā cow, 171, 312. kāə(r) dān to bend down, sit down, 172. **kaf** chaff, 57, 283, 312. kaind kind, 312. kait kite, 175, 312. kākumə(r) cucumber, 263, 282. kal to gossip, 57, 312. kāl cowl, to frown, 114, 254, 315. kan can, 57. kan (verb) can, 57, 389.kani knowing, skilful, nimble, 57, 245. kanl candle, 57, 247, 266, 298, 312. kānsl to counsel, 235. kānt to count, 235. kap cap, 57, 194. kap to surprise. kapil a piece of leather sewn over a hole in a boot or shoe, 194. karit carrot, 194, 245. kasl *castle*, 57, 286. kā-slip cowslip, 117. kat cat, 57. kāt cart, 61, 312. katš to catch, 383. kātš couch, 235. kāv to carve, 74, 283, 312. keed card, 203, 322. keedž cage, 204. keek bread of any kind, 70, 312. keekes body, carcase, 203, 322. kee(r) care, 70, 312.

kees *case*, 204, 322. kei key, 139, 312, 315. keišn (lit. occasion) need, necessity, 322.kek hemlock, 312. kemp short coarse white hairs in wool, 73, 312. kenke(r) to rust, corrode, 59, 197, 243. kep to catch (a ball), 278, 312. kept kept, 148. kest to cast, 60, 312, 381. ketl kettle, 73, 247, 312. **k**ed *could*, 389. kā-gət *kirkgate*, 90, 312, 313. kən (verb) can, 389. kān currant, 228, 259, 292. kənl kernel, 120, 312. kēs to curse, 113, 310, 312. kāsmes Christmas, 161, 243, 261, 312. kēsn to christen, 161, 261, 310. **kid** *kid*, 89. **kil** to kill, 77, 250, 312. kil to cool, 147, 312. kiln *kiln*, 117, 312. kīn keen, 147, 312. kindm kingdom, 264, note, 312. kinl to bring forth (of rabbits), 117. kinlin *firewood*, 117, 298. kip king, 117. kink to cough (of whooping cough), 89. kip-kof whooping cough, 89, 312, 313. kīp to keep, 147, 312. kist chest, box, 89, 310. kit a pail, 89, 312.

kitl to tickle, 89, 257, 312. kitl to bring forth kittens, 312. kitlin kitten. kitšn kitchen, 117, 312. kiue(r) cure, 238. ko weak form of kan can, 271, 359. **kob-web** *cob*, 100. $\mathbf{kod}\ cod,\ \mathbf{100}.$ koəf *calf*, 62, 312. koəf calf (of the leg), 62. koel to call, 62, 312. koən corn, 104, 312. koene(r) corner, 223. koese causeway, 225, 243, 322. kof *cough*, 100, 319. koil *coal*, 109, 254. koiles coalhouse, 243. koit quoit, coit, 216. koit coat, 219, 312. kok *cock*, 100, 312. kokl cockle, 100, 312. kolep slice of bacon, 100, 243. kolə(r) collar, 214. kom *came*, 169. konsån concern, 207. konséet conceit, 234. konsider, to consider, 211, 297. kontráiv to contrive, 361, 364. kontréeri contrary, 204 note, 322. kope(r) copper, 100. kos because, 225, 242, 246, 401. kost *to cost*, 381. kot staples of wool tightly entangled together, 289.

kotn cotton, 214. koud *cold*, 64, 312. kouk coke, cinder, 103, 312. koul to rake, 220, 322. kout *colt*, 103, 312. krab crab, 57. krabd angry, 57. krabi ill-tempered, 57. krād crowd, 171. kraft craft, 57. krai *cry*, 229. Kraist Christ, 156. krak to crack, 57. krakit cricket (game), 213. kram to cram, press close together, 57. kramp cramp, 57. **krān** crown, crown of head, 235. the renderings kraps lard, 278, 312. **kredl** *cradle*, 60, 247. kreev to crave, 70, 312. krenk crank, 59. kres cress, 73. kriete(r) creature, 288. krinž to cringe, 76, 312, 315. **krīp** to creep, 187, 383. kripl cripple, 117. krisp crisp, 89. kriu *crew*, 190. kriuk *crook*, 164, 312. **kros** to crow, 123, 377. kroe crow, 123, 312. krool to crawl, 63, 283. **kroft** a small field, 100. krop *erop*, 100. kros across, 246. kros cross, 100. krudl to curdle, 111. krudz *curds*, 111, 338.

kruek to croak, 122. kruidl to shrink or cower with cold, fear, or pain, krum *crumb*, 111, 263. krumpl to crumple, 111. krust crust, 226. kruš to crush, 226. krutš *crutch*, 121, 312. kubəd cupboard, 243, 279, 280, 312. kud cud, 97, 250, 312. kud could, 174, 389. kudl to embrace, 111, 247. kued cord, 223. kuediroi corduroy. kuəm comb, 66, 281, 312. kuetš coach, 218. kuəv cove, 103, 283. kuf (kuft) cuff, 111, 283. kuil *cool*, 163. kūk cook, 164, 312. $\mathbf{kule(r)}\ colour,\ 226.$ kum to come, 111, 312, 370. kumfet comfort, 226. kumpni company, 226, 247. kunin cunning, 111, 245. kuntri country, 226. kup cup, 111. kupl couple, 226. kus kiss, to kiss, 107, 310, 383. kusted custard, 226, 243. kustm *custom*, 226, 247. kut to cut, 381. kuve(r) to cover, 226. kuzin, kuzn cousin, 226. kwaiet quiet, 230, 322. kwaleti quality, 202, 250, 322. kwari stone-quarry, 202, 250, 322.

kweet quart, 203, 250, 259, 322, 337. kweete(r) quarter, 203, 347. kwin queen, 147.

-1 will, 397. lā to allow, 235. lad lad, 57. lād loud, 171. laf to laugh, 57, 319. **lafte**(**r**) *laughter*, 57, 319. laif *life*, 156. laik *like*, 156. laim lime, 156. lain *line*, 156. lais *lice*, 175. lam lamb, 57, 66, 281. lamp lamp, 194. land land, 57. lanload landlord, 299. lāns an allowance of refreshment or money, 235, 246. lap lap, lappet, 57. lap to wrap up, 57, 254. laps a kind of woollen waste made in spinning, 338. lari *last*, 346. las lass, girl, 57. lās (pl. lais) louse, 171, 310, 336. last last, latest, 57, 343. lat late, 57, 254, 289, 343. lat lath, 57, 289. $late(\mathbf{r})$ latter, later, 57, 343. latist latest, 343. latš *latch*, 312. lade(r) ladder, 144, 297. later, foam, froth, 71, 186, 306. lavrek lark, 125, 243, 312. lee to lay, 84, 315, 382.

leed *laid*, 84, 315. leədi *lady*, 141, 245, 283. leadl ladle, 70. leek to play, 127, 312. leələk lilac, 229, 243, 322. leem lame, 70. leen lain, 84, 315. leerem alarum, 195. lees lace, 204. leed barn, 70, 306. leev *barn*, 306. left(pret. and pp.) left, 143. leg leg, 73, 315.lein to lean, 139, 382. leitš leech, 132, 312. lek to leak, 88, 312. lek *leek*, 186. len to lend, 143, 268, 303, 382. lenit linnet, 99, 212, 245. lent, lend (pret. and pp.) lent, 143. lenp length, 73, 275. len (lon) long, 59. len to long for, 59. lenki tall and thin. len-setl a long bench with a high back, 59. lenwidž language, 197, 328. les less, 143, 343. leš to comb the hair of the head, 59. let to let, 134, 381. let (pret.) let, 154. lete(\mathbf{r}) letter, 206. letis lettuce, 206, 245. leðe(r) leather, 73, 306. levm eleven, 246. lī to tell a lie, 187, 315. lid *lid*, 89. lied *lead*, 179. lied to lead, 137, 381.

liede(r) tendon, 137. liəf *leaf*, 179. lien lean, 137. lien to learn, 74, 382. liəst least, 137, 343. liev to leave, 137, 382. līf soon, 187. **lift** to lift, 117. lig to lie down, 89, 254, 315, 382. lik to lick, 89, 312. $\lim lim b$, 89. limit limit, 211. linin linen, 160. lints lentils, 209. lip heather, 117, 273. lipe(\mathbf{r}) to linger, 76. lip lip, 89. lisn *listen*, 117, 287. list *list*, 211. **list** to enlist, 211, 246. lit light, levis, 93. līt light, to light, 187, 381. litl little, 177, 343. lītnin lightning, 150. lits lit. littles, 177. lits the lungs of animals, 93, 318, 338. liuk to look, 164, 312. lium loom, 164, 254. liv to live, 89, 283. live(\mathbf{r}) to deliver, 211, 246. live(r) liver, 89, 283. lodž to lodge, 214. loo law, 63, 315. lood lord, 283. **loft** *loft*, 100. loin lune, 69, 109, 254. loin loin, 216. loitš loach, 219. loiz to lose, 109, 310, 382. lok *lock*, 100, 312.

loks small pieces of wool which have been detached from the fleece, 100, 338. lon (len) long, 59. lop flea, 100, 278. loped clotted, covered with dirt, 100, 243. lopste(r) lobster, 100, 278. lost lost, 100. lot *lot*, 100. lotments allotments, 246. lou low, 124, 315. loup to leap, jump, 184, 317. lous *loose*, 184. luəd load, 122. luof loaf, 122, 317. luen loan, 122. luensm lonely, 122, 247. lueb loath, 122. lued to loathe, 122. lug to pull the hair of the head, 111, 315. lup lung, 111. luv love, 111. **m** them, 350. mad mad, 144. madlin a bewildered or confused person, 144. mai my. 156, 351. maio(r) mire, 176. maiklskoup microscope. mail mile, 156, 337. main mine, 156, 352. mais *mice*, 175. mait mite, 156. mak to make, 71, 312, 383. māk *mark*, 61, 312. man (pl. men) man, 57, 336. mano(r) manner, 194. mant to mount, 235.

map a mop, 194.

marə *marrow*, 57, 243, 315. mare to match a pattern, 194, 243. mās (pl. mais) mouse, 171, 310, 336. mat mat, 289. māt to moult, 235, 256. māþ mouth, 171. mebi (lit. may be) perhaps, possibly, 65, 399.medə meadow, 134, 243. meə (verb) may, 65, 315, 393. meed (pret. and pp.) made, 70, 312. meeg maw, 70, 315. meelek trick, to play tricks upon a person. meen main, 65, 315. meen mane, 70. $mee(\mathbf{r})$ mare, 75. meesn mason, 204. meəstə(\mathbf{r}) master, 195. meet mate, 70. meil meal, flour, 87. meit meat, 87. meitš to measure, 312. mel mallet, 206. mel to meddle, 206. melt to melt, 73, 381. men men, 73. mend, to mend, 206. mens neatness, tidiness, 73, 312. ment meant, 143. meš mash, 59, 125. mešt smashed, broken inpieces. met *met*, 148. meze(r) measure, 206, 243, mezlz measles, 234, 338. $\mathbf{m}\mathbf{e}$ (verb) may, 393.

me me, 350. med (verb) might, 393. māki *mirky*, 120. mən man, 249. mən *must*, 392. meniue(r) manure, 238, 242. meraine merino wool. məri *merry*, 120, 245. $m\bar{\theta}\delta\theta(\mathbf{r})$ to murder, 120, 297. mi my, 351. mī me, 155, 350. midif *midwife*, 160, 251. midin dunghill, 276, 296. midl *middle*, 89, 296. mīdles troublesome, tiresome, impatient, to no purpose, 154. miəl meal, repast, 131. mien mean, 137. mion to mean, intend, 137, 382. mig midge, 117, 315. miks to mix, 89, 312. mīld mild, 92, 254. mil-deu mildew, 89. milk milk, 77. miln mill, 117, 269. ministe(r) minister, 211,244.mins mince, 211. mint mint, 89. mipl to mingle, 76, 273. mis *miss*, 89. misen, misel, miseln, myself, 353. mist mist, 89. mistl cow-house, 263, 287. mistšif mischief, 211. mīt to meet, 147, 289, 381. mīt (noun) might, 93, 318. mitš much, 89, 312, 343. miul mule, 237.

miuld angry.

miuzik music, 237. mizl to drizzle (of rain), 263, 310. mizl-tue mistletoe, 89. moə to mow, 123, 377. moek maggot, 63, 306, 312. moon morning, 104. moende(r) to wander about without any definite aim in view. moendž mange, 196, 328. moəndži mangy, peevish, 328. moonin morning, 104. moist moist, 216. moistə(r) moisture, 216, 243, 288. moit mote, 109. moife(r) to ponder over, be anxious, 297. molt *malt*, 58, 254. moni many, 58, 245, 315, 343, 357. mos moss, 100. mot, moti a mark at quoits, 214. mob *moth*, 100. moud mould, model, 220. moud-wāp a mole, 103. mud (verb) might, 393. mūd crowded, crammed, 263. muen to moan, 122. muen to mourn, 113. muent must not, 392. $\mathbf{mue}(\mathbf{r}) \ moor, \ 165.$ muə(r) more, 122, 343. muəst most, 122, 343. mūfin muffin, 112. muid mood, 163. muild confusion, bad temper, muild on teu hard labour, continuous toil.

muin moon, 163, 263. muk muck, 121, 312. muml to mumble, 111, 263, 288. mun *must*, 111, 263, 392. mundə Monday, 169. muni money, 226. muns months, 307, 310. munp month, 169, 337. mupe (\mathbf{r}) monger, 59. mupril mongrel, 226. musl muscle, 310. musl mussel, 111, 312. must *must*, 392. musted mustard, 226, 243. mutn mutton, 226, 247. muðə(r) mother, 169, 297. muzl muzzle, 226.

nā now, 171, 399. naif knife, 156. nain nine, 344. naint ninth, 309, 344. nainti ninety, 344. naintin nineteen, 344. naintint nineteenth, 344. naintit ninetieth, 344. nais *nice*, 229. nap nap, 57. nare narrow, 57, 243. nat gnat, 57, 315. nate(r) to gnaw, nibble, 265. naterin scolding, fault-finding in a small vexatious manner. nati neat, tidy, dexterous (of old people), 265, 286. nat-rl, nat-re-bl natural, 194, 247, 288. navi canal, 247, 265. neb bill, beak, 73, 280. nee nay, 84, 399.

neebe(r) neighbour, 183, 243, 318. neeg to gnaw, 70, 315. neegin, nepin tēn a bout which is a constant source of annoyance and complaint. neekt naked, 70, 312. neel nail, 65, 315. neem name, 70. neete(r) nature, 204, 243, 288. nei to neigh, 139, 315. nei nigh, near, 182, 318. neid to knead, 87, 372. neiv fist, 87, 283. nek neck, 73, 312. nek-lep neck cloth, handkerchief, 243, 312. nekst next, 152, 320, 343. nen to gnaw as a pain, 59. nen-neel corn on the foot, 59. nest nest, 73. net net, 73, 289. netl nettle, 73. nevi nephew, 73, 245. no no, 357. ne(r) nor, than, 128, 401. nēs nurse, 228. net not, 128, 357, 399. nī knee, 187. nibl to nibble, 89, 257. nīd need, 150. nidiət idiot, 340. nīdl needle, 130, 296. nie(r) kidney, 151, 265. nie(r) near 179, 343, 400. nio(r), nivo(r) never, 283. niere(r) nearer, 343. nierist nearest, 343. nies niece, 231. niet neat, tidy, 231.

nīl to kneel, 382. niml nimble, 89, 263, 282. nip to move quickly, slip away. nit to knit, 117, 373. nit nit, 89, 317. nīt night, 93, 265, 318. nītingeel nightingale, 70. nīt-meə(r) nightmare, 70. niu new, 190. niu *knew*, 190. niuk nook, 164, 312. nive(r) never, 145, 283, 399. nīz to sneeze, 187. nobed only, except, 286, 399, 400. nod nap, short sleep, 100. noo to know, 123, 250, 377. **noop** to beat, strike, 103, 278. noeb north, 104. $noe \delta e(\mathbf{r})$ neither, 123, 357, 401. noilz (pl.) the short hairs taken out of wool by the combing machine, 265, 338. noiz noise, 216. nok to knock, 100, 312. noreišn row, disturbance, 340. not *knot*, 100. notš notch, a run at the game of cricket, 100, 312. nou no, 399. nout naught, 123, 318, 357. nozl to beat, thrash, 254. nub to nudge, 280. nue no, 122, 357. nuəbdi nobody, 245, 247, 280, 357. nuebl noble, 218. nuen none, not, 122, 357.

nuen-keet silly foolish person.

nuetis notice, 218.

nuez nose, 105, 310.

nuin noon, 163, 268.

num numb, 111.

nume(r) number, 226, 282.

nut nut, 111, 317.

nuvis novice, 215.

nuvl novel, 215.

óbstakl obstacle, 214, 243. od odd, 100. od to hold, 64, 300, 381. od, rot it a passionate rebuke or remonstrance. oof half, 283. ook hawk, 63, 283. oeked awkward, 243, 251. oekedli awkwardly, 399. oel all, 62, 357. oel hall, 62. oemend almond, 198, 255. óeminak almanac, 198, 243, 255. oen horn, 104. oen own, 124, 315. оэрэр halfpennyworth, 243, 247, 251, 272. oepni halfpenny, 62, 245, 283. oos horse, 104, 261, 310. oede(r) either, 123, 243, 357, oeőe(r) order, 223, 258, 297. **o**fl *offal*, 100. ofld disreputable. oft oft, often, 100, 399. og the first year's wool of a sheep, 100, 315. oil hole, 109, 317. oil oil, 216.

ointment ointment, 216. oisto(r) oyster, 216. okə-daik small stream iron-water, 214. oks (pl. oksn) ox, 100, 320, ole hollow, 100, 243, 318. oles always, 58, 243, 251, 399. olin the holly-tree, twig of the holly-tree, 100, 245, 268. olt halt, 58. omes, omest almost, 58, 243, 255, 292, 399. on on, of, 100, 249 note, 400. one(\mathbf{r}) honour, 214. oni any, 146, 245, 315, 357. onibodi anybody, 357. oniwio(r) anywhere, 399. ont *aunt*, 200. **op** *to hop*, 100. opm open, 100, 270. o(r) or, 401. $ote(\mathbf{r})$ otter, 100. otšed orchard, 100, 243. ou to owe, 124, 315. oud to hold, 64. oud *old*, 64, 300. oue-kesn overcast, gloomy (of the sky), 287. oue(r), ove(r) over, 283, 400. oue(r)-welt to upset, 73. out ought, 124, 318, 394. out holt, 103, 289. ovl hovel, 100. pāe(r) power, 236.

pāe(r) power, 236.
pai pie, 229.
paik pike, 156.
paik to pick, choose, select,
229, 322.
pail pile, 156.

pain to pine, 156. paint pint, 229. paip pipe, 156. pak pack, bundle, 57, 312. pāk a kind of blain, 278. pāk *park*, 61. pan pan, 57. pantri pantry, 194. pāsn parson, 207. paste(r) pasture, 195, 228, 243. pasti pasty, 204. pap path, 57, 306. pāðə(r) powder, 235, 297. peə pay, 204. peadn pardon, 203. peedž page, 204. peal pail, 65, 315. peal pale, 204. peen pain, 204. peen pane of glass, 204. peent paint, 204. pea(r) pair, 205. pee(r) to peel, 205. pees pace, 204. peasl parcel, 203. peast paste, 204. peeste(r) (lit. pasture) to feed. peet part, 203. peetne(r) partner, 203. pegi-stik the handle of a pegi (an instrument used in washing clothes, having a long handle inserted at right angles to the plane of a wooden disc, in which are set several pegs). pei pea, 87, 278, 311. peil up en dan to go about, hurry up and down. pen pen, 73.

penap pennyworth, 243, 247, 251. peni penny, 73, 245. peš to knock about, smash, dash, 59, 312. pešn passion, 197, 327. pās purse, 228. pidžn pigeon, 211, 247, 328. piek perch, to perch, 278. pie-kok peacock, 179. piel to appeal, 231, 246. piə(r) pear, 75, 208, 260. pies peace, 231. pig pig, 89, 315. pigin a small water-can, 89. pig-koit pig-sty, 109. pik pickaxe, 211. piktə(r) picture, 243, 288. pil to peel, 234. pilə pillow, 117, 243. pilinz the peels of potatoes, etc., 234. pim-ruəz primrose, 262,278. pinion opinion, 211, 246. pīp (pret. and pp. pept) to peep, 232, 383. pīs piece, 232. pit pit, 117. piti *pity*, 211. pitš pitch, 89, 312. piþ *pith*, 89. piu pew, 237. piu $\theta(\mathbf{r})$ pure, 238. pius puce colour, 237. plant plant, 195. plat floor, ground. plean plain, 204. pleas place, 204. pleaste(r) plaster, 195, 243. pleat plate, 204. plenk plank, 197. pleš to splash, 59.

pleze(r) pleasure, 206, 243, 310. plied to plead, 231. pliez to please, 231. plit plight, 93, 318. pliu plough, 164, 315. plot plot, 100. pluk pluck, to pluck, 111, plum plum, 174. plume(r) plumber, 226. pobz (pl.) porridge; sops made of bread and milk. poə paw, 225. poem palm, 62, 278. poez to kick, 225, 278. point point, 216. poizn poison, 216. poks pox, 100. popi *poppy*, 110, 245. poreets potatoes, 286. poridž porridge, 214, 338. posnit saucepan, 214, 245. pot pot, 214. pot donak, see § 346 note. poul pole, 129. poutri poultry, 220, 278. poutš to poach, 220, 330. prād *proud*, 171, 291. praid *pride*, 175, 286. prais price, 229. praiz to lift with a lever, 229. pratli gently, softly, 57, 245. pree (but pre de) to pray, 204. prest to prate, bubble, 70, 204, 278. preez to praise, 204. preitš to preach, 234, 330. prentis apprentice, 206, 246. prenk prank, trick, 59. prik to prick, 89, 312.

prikl prickle, 89. prist priest, 187. prod to prick, goad, 100. profit profit, 214. prog to collect wood for the bonfire on the fifth of November, 278, 315. pruiv to prove, 163. puek pork, 322. puek *sack*, 105. pueli poorly, ill, 222. puəni pony, 105, 218. puə(r) poor, 222. puəst post, 105, 218. puešn portion, 223. puete(r) porter, 223. puəzi nosegay, 218. puilpit *pulpit*, 227, 245. pūl to pull, 112. puli pulley, 227. pulit pullet, 227. pulp pulp, 226. pŭltis poultice, 220, 245. pund a pound, 111, 300, 337. puš to push, 227. put to put, 227, 278, 381.

raftə(r) rafter, 57.
raid to ride, 156, 361.
raip ripe, 156.
rais rice, 229.
raiet riot, 229.
rait to write, 156, 250, 361.
raiv to tear, 156, 258, 361, 364.
raiz to rise, 156, 310, 361.
ram ram, 57.
ram to thrust, press, 258.
rām room, 171, 263.
rami having a strong taste or smell, 57.
raml to ramble, 57, 282.

rand round, 235. ransak to ransack, 71. rasl to wrestle, 144, 286, 310. rast rust, 171.ratn rat, 194, 247, 269, 286. rebit rivet, 212, 245, 283. **red** (pret. and pp.) *read*, 134. red *red*, 186. redi ready, 296. rediš *radish*, 200, 245, 327. redžéste(r) to register, 212, 242. reedž rage, 204. reek rake, 70, 312. reek at to ramble about. reel rail, 315. reen rain, 84, 315. reen-bou rain-bow, 102. rees race, 129. reet rate, 204. $ree \mathfrak{Fe}(r)$ rather, 70, 306. reg rag, 59, 315. reg-le(r) regular, 247. reik to reach, 138, 312, 383. reit right, 86, 258, 318. rekp to reckon, 73, 247. rens to rinse, 212. rep (pret.) rang, 59, 367. rep wrong, 59, 250. repk rank, 59, 197, 322. repl to pull the hair of the head, 59.rest, rest, remnant, 73. reš rash, 59, 312. retš wretch, 73. rib rib, 89. rid *rid*, 77. rīd to read, 130, 381. rīd reed, 187. ridl *riddle*, 136, 311. ridl sieve, 89, 257. ridn ridden, 89, 296.

riəl real, 231. riep to reap, 82. rie(r) to rear, 137. rieb wreath, 137. riezn reason, 231. rifiuz to refuse, 237. rift to belch, eructate, 89, 283. rig back, 117, 315. rigin ridge of a house, 117, 315. rik reek, smoke, 150 note, 312. rikriut to recruit, 239. rikuve(r) to recover, 226. rīl reel, 187. rim rim, 89.rind rind, 89. rip to ring, 89, 367, 368. rin to wring, 89, 367. rin *ring*, 317. ripkl wrinkle, 89. risiet receipt, recipe, 231. risiev to receive, 231. rist wrist, 89. rīt wright, 118, 318. ritn written, 89. riu to rue, 190, 250, 382. ríubub rhubarb, 239, 243. riuin *ruin*, 239. riuk rook, 164, 317. riume(r) rumour, 239.rive(r) river, 211. rīzd rancid (of bacon), 258, 310. rizn risen, 89, 310. Robisn Robinson, 267. roe raw, 180. roet to bray, 184. roid clearing (of a wood), 109, 300. rok rock, 100, 214. rost to roast, 217. rot to rot, 100.

roul to roll, 220. rout wrought, 101, 318. rubiš rubbish, 226. rudi ruddy, 111, 245, 315. rueb robe, 218. rued road, 122. rueg rogue, 218. ruep rope, 122. rue(r) to roar, 122. ruəz rose, 105, 310. ruf rough, 174, 319. ruid rood, 163. ruif roof, 163, 283. ruit root, 163. run to run, 367, 368. runin *running*, 245, 276. rup wrung, 111. rust rest, repose, 310. ruš rush, 97.

s shall, 256, 312, 391. s us, 350. sā a drain, sough, 310, 315. sā sow, 114, 315. sad sad, 57. sadl saddle, 71, 296. sādžn sergeant, 207, 292. sae(r) sour, 172. said side, 156. saieti society, 246. sail to strain through a sieve, 156, 315. sailm asylum, 229, 246. sain sign, 229. saip to ooze or drain out *slowly*, 156. said scythe, 156, 306, 315. saizez assizes, 229, 246. sāk to suck, 171, 310, 312. sakles simple, silly, 57, 243. sal shall, 57, 312, 391. sale sallow, 57, 243.

saleri celery, 210. **salit** *salad*, 194, 245. sāmən sermon, 207. sam up to pick up, gather together, 57, 263, 310. sand sand, 57. sand sound, noise, 235. sant saint, 204, 249. sant shall not, 256, 391. sap sap, 57. sare (sav) to serve, 207, 243, 258. sat sat, 57. satl to settle, 57, 257. sāþ south, 171. sāvis service, 207. sāvnt servant, 207, 247, 259. sed said, 134, 315. see to say, 84, 315, 382. seef *safe*, 204. seeg a saw, 70, 315. seek sake, 70, 312. seekrid sacred, 204. seel sail, 84, 315. seel sale, 70. seem lard, 204, 310. seem same, 70. seent (sant) saint, 204. seev to save, 204. seg to distend, 59, 315. seg sedge, 73, 315. sek sack, 73, 312. seki second, 346. seknd second, 344. sel (sen) self, 73, 283. sel to sell, 73, 382. seldn seldom, 73, 247, 269. **self** *self*, 353. sen (sel) self, 73, 283. send to send, 73, 381. sens sense, 206. sent sent, 73.

senz sends, 302 sep (sop) song, 59. sen (pret.) sang, 59, 367. sepk (pret.) sank, 59, 367. ses assessment, to assess, tax, 206, 246. seš sash, 197. set to set, 73, 310, 381. setede Saturday, 134. seu to sew, 190, 250, 382. sevm seven, 73, 270, 344. sevnt seventh, 344. sevnti seventy, 344. sevntin seventeen, 344. sevntint seventeenth, 344. sevntit seventieth, 344. sez sayest, says, 134. sə so, 399. sed should, 256, 312, 391. səliut to salute, 239, 242. sə də (lit. see thou) look! 192. sī to see, 187, 374. **sī** to sigh, 158, 318. sī to stretch, 310. **sīd** *seed*, 130. sie sea, 137. siekrit secret, 231. siəm seam, 179. siənə senna, 206, 243. sies to cease, 231. siet seat, 137. siez to seize, 382. siəzn season, 231. sift to sift, 89, 283. sīk to seek, 147, 383. sikl *sickle*, 89, 312. siks six, 77, 320, 344. siks-peneb sixpenny worth, sikst sixth, 77, 289, 309, 344. siksti sixty, 344. sikstīn sixteen, 150, 344.

sikstint sixteenth, 344. sikstit sixtieth, 344. sil sill, 117. sili *silly*, 136, 245. silk silk, 89. silve(r) silver, 77. $sim\ to\ seem,\ 147.$ simətri cemetery, 209, 243. sīmin-dlas a looking-glass, mirror. simple simple, 348. sin since, 89, 117, 310, 399, 400. sin seen, 150. sind to rinse, wash out, 266, 300, 310. $sinde(\mathbf{r}) \ cinder, 89.$ sinž to singe, 76, 277, 315. sin to sing, 89, 367.sink to sink, 89, 367. sipl single, 211, 247, 273. $siste(\mathbf{r})$ sister, 77. sit to sit, 89, 373. sīt sight, 93, 318. sitš such, 77, 250, 256, 312, 357. sīð to seethe, 187. siðez scissors, 211, 243, 310. siu sowed, 190. siu to sue, 239. siuəli surely, 240, 242, 399. siuə(r) sure, 240, 310. siuge(r) sugar, 227, 310. siuit suet, 239. siut suit, 237. siv sieve, 89, 283. **skab** scab, 57, 312. $sk\bar{a}e(r)$ to scour. skafl scaffold, 194, 301, 322. skaflin scaffolding, 194, 301, skaftin shafting, 57, 245, 312.

skai sky, 175, 312. skeələt scarlet, 203, 322. skeəlz scales, 70, 204, 312. skelp to beat, flog, 73, 312. skep a large wicker basket for holding spinning bobbins, 73, 312. skāf *scurf*, 113, 312. **skift** to shift, remove, 89, 312. skil skill, 89, 312. skin skin, 89, 312. **skoud** to scald, 199, 322. skoup scoop, 168, 312. skraml scramble, 57, 312. **skrat** to scratch, 57, 312, 381. skriptə(r) scripture, 211. skreep to scrape, 70, 312. skriem to scream, 312. skrik to shriek, 158, 312. skue(r) score, 337. skuft the nape of the neck, 111, 312. skuil school, 163, 312. skul skull (of the head), 111, 312. **skute**(**r**) to spill, 111, 243, 312. sl shall, 312, 391. slafte(r) to slaughter, 57, 319. slaid to slide, 156, 361. slaim slime, 156. slaip to take away the skin or outside covering, 156. slak slack, 57. slām slumber, 171. slāt to bedabble, 289. slate(r) to spill, 310.slave(r) slaver, 57. **slee** to slay, 65, 375. sleen slain, 65, 315. slek small coal, 73, 312.

slek to extinguish a fire, etc., with water, 73, 312. slep (pret.) slung, 59. slepk (pret.) slunk, 59, 367. slept slept, 134. slī sly, 147, 315. slidn (pp.) slid, 89, 247. slip to sling, 76, 367, 368. slink to slink, 89, 367. slipk a sneak. slip to slip, 89. **slīp** *to sleep*, 130, 383. slipi slippery, 89, 245. slit to slit, 373. **slitn** (pp.) *slit*, 89. sliu slew, 164, 315. slīv sleeve, 150. sloə slow, 123, 250. slop the leg of a pair of trousers, 100. slot bolt of a door, 100. **sluf** *slough*, 169, 315. sluko slunk, 274, 368. slumək a dirty, untidy person, 312. slum $\theta(\mathbf{r})$ slumber, 243, 282. slup slung, 111. smait to smite, 156. smāt smart, 74. smel to smell, 73, 382. smelt to smelt, 73. smeš smash, 59. smie(r) to smear, 75. smit1 to infect, 89, 247. smitn smitten, 89. smip smith, 89, 306. smiði *smithy*, 89, 306. smivi *smithy*, 306. smool small, 62. smok smock, 100. $smu\theta(r)$ to smother, suffocate, 104, 260.

smuið *smooth*, 163, 306, 310. smūk to smoke, 106. snaip snipe, 156. sneek snake, 70, 312. sneel snail, 65, 315. snee(r) snare, 70. snek the latch of a door, 73, 312. snēt to sneeze, giggle, 113. sniek to sneak, 162. snift to sniff, scent, 117. snig to take hastily. snik to cut. **snikit** a small passage, 245, 310, 312. sniu it snowed, 190. snīz to sneeze, 187. **snod** *smooth*, *even*, 100, 306. snodn to make smooth, 100, 306. snoə snow, to snow, 123, 250, 377. snot snot, 100. sod sod, 100. sodnd saturated, wet through, soə (pret.) saw, 63, 318. soe to sow, 123, 377. soes sauce, 225. soov salve, 62. **soft** *soft*, 169. soil soil, ground, 109, 216. soil sole, 109. $\mathbf{sok}\ sock$, 100. solt salt, 58. son (sen) song, 59. sore sorrow, 100, 243, 258, 315. sori sorry, 125, 245. soðə(r) solder, 214, 297. soudže(r) soldier, 220, 328. soul soul, 123.

sout sought, 167, 318. spaie(r) spire, 157. spak (pret.) spoke, 57. spāk spark, 61. span (pret.) span, 57. span to span, 57. sparə sparrow, 57, 243, 250. spat (pret.) spat, 144. spatl spittle, 125. speed spade, 70, 278. speen to wean, 70, 268, 278. $spee(\mathbf{r})$ to spare, 70. speik to speak, 87, 310, 312, 372. speitš *speech*, 132, 312. spek *speck*, 73, 312. spektéklz spectacles, 206. 242. spel to spell, 382. spend to spend, 73, 381. spenk to beat, hit, 59, 312. $sp\bar{a}(\mathbf{r}) spur$, 104. sperinz banns of marriage, 120, 245, 338. sperit *spirit*, 213, 245. spie(r) spear, 75.spil to spill, 89, 382. spin to spin, 89, 367. spin1 spindle, 89, 247, 266, 298. spit to spit, 89, 373. spitek spigot, 89, 243, 310. spiu to spew, 159, 250. split to split, 373. spoil to spoil, 216, 382. spokp spoken, 100, 247, 271. spot spot, 100. sprāt to sprout, 171. spreid to spread, 139, 372. sprep (pret.) sprang, 59. **sprin** to spring, 89, 367. **sprup** (pp.) *sprung*, 111.

spuin spoon, 163. **spun** *spun*, 111. st should, 256, 305, 312, 391. stae(r) star, 74.staf staff, 57. stak (pret.) stuck, 57. stāk very, quite, 312. stāk mad very angry, 61. stāko to grow stiff, stiffen, 61, 271. stamp to stamp, 57. stand to stand, 57, 375. **stapl** *staple*, 71, 196. stāt stout, 235. stati statue, 245. stāv to starve, 74, 283. stedi steady, 310. steabl stable, 204. steek stake, 70, 84, 312. steel (pret.) stole, 70. stee(\mathbf{r}) to stare, 70. steevz staves, 70. steez stairs, 141. stege(r) to stagger, 59.**steil** to steal, 87, 369. steil the handle of a pot or jug, 87.steim to bespeak, 87, 283, 310. stem stem, 73. sten (pret.) stung, 59. stepk (pret.) stunk, 59. step step, 73. step-fa $\delta \theta(\mathbf{r})$ step-father, 192. stepsez steps, 338. $st\bar{e}(r)$ to stir, 120. sterek heifer, 91, 248. **sterep** *stirrup*, 162, 243, 315. stī sty, ladder, 94, 158, 315. stī sty, 125. **stī** *stīle*, 315. stied e instead of, 400.

stiem steam, 179. stiep steep, 179. stie(r) to steer, 151. stif *stiff*, 160. stik stick, 89. stik to stick, 89, 373. stil still, 89. stīl steel, 150. stīl stile, 94, 315. stint to stint, 117. **stin** to sting, 89, 367. stink to stink, 89, 367. stīpl steeple, 150. stitš to stitch, 89, 312. stiupid stupid, 237. stoek stalk, stem, 62. stool stall, 62. stoeleisn satiation. stoom storm, 104. stok stock, 100. **stop** *to stop*, 100. stou to stow, 166. stoun stolen, 103. **straid** to stride, 156, 361. straik to strike, 156, 361, 363. straiv to strive, 229, 361, 304. streendž strange, 204. streit straight, 86, 318. strenp strength, 73, 275. stren (stron) strong, 59. stretš to stretch, 73, 312. streu to strew, 85, 250, 382. striə straw, 179, 310. striek streak, stripe, 98. striom stream, 179. striko stricken, 89. strip string, 76. strip to string, 367. strip to strip, 150 note. strīt street, 130.

struek to stroke, 122. struek half a bushel, 122. stubi short and stiff, 111. stubl stubble, 121. stuen stone, 122. stuen stone (14 pounds), 337. stueni, see § 346 note. stueri story, 224. stuev stove, 105, 283. stuf stuff, 226. stuid stood, 163. stuil stool, 163. **stuko** (pp.) *stunk*, 368. stump stump, 111. stun to stun, 111. stup (pp.) stung, 111. stūp a post, 106, 256. stut to stutter, stammer, sud should, 103, 256, 312, 391. sudn sudden, 226. suə 80, 122, 399. sued (swed) sword, 74, 250. **suak** to soak, 105, 312. supp a little tea or beer, 105. suəp soap, 122. $\mathbf{sue}(\mathbf{r})$ sore, 122. sufe(r) to suffer, 226. suf-oil manhole of a drain, 315. suin soon, 163, 399. **suit** *soot*, 163, 289. suko (pp.) sunk, 111, 247, 368. sūl shovel, 283. sum some, 111, 357. sum-ā somehow. sumdi somebody, 247, 281, sumen to summon, 226. $sum_{\theta}(r) \in ummer, 111.$

111, 243, 251, 257. sump a puddle or dirty pool of water, 111, 250. sumwie(r) somewhere, 399. sun son, III. sun sun, III. sundə Sunday, 111, 243. sun sung, III. sup to drink, sup, 174. supə(r) supper, 226. swaim to climb up a tree or pole, 156. swaip to sweep off, remove hastily, 156. swām swarm, 61. swāp the skin of bacon, 61, 306, 310. swāpi swarthy, 61. of sweep the handle machine, 70, 250, 310. swel to swell, 73, 382. swelt to faint, be overpowered by heat, 73. swep (pret.) swung, 59. swenki small beer, 59. swetš a small sample of cloth, cotton, etc., 60, 312. swēd (sued) sword, 74. swiel to gutter (of a candle), 131, 254. swie(r) to swear, 75, 369, 371. swiet to sweat, 137, 250, 381. swift swift, 89. swil to rinse, wash out, 89. swileke(\mathbf{r}) a blow. swiling thin liquid food for pigs, 89, 245. swim to swim, 89, 367. swip to swing, 89, 367. swip to sweep, 129, 383.

sumet something, anything,

swit sweet, 147.
swoon sworn, 104.
swolo swallow, 58, 243, 250.
swolo to swallow, 80, 243, 315.
swom swam, 58.
swon swan, 58.
swop to exchange, barter, 58.
swum (pp.) swum, 111.
swun (pp.) swung, 111.

šabi shabby, 245. šadə shadow, 57, 243. šā $\theta(\mathbf{r})$ shower, 172. šaft shaft, 57. šain to shine, 156, 361, 363. šait cacare, 156, 312, 361. **šaiv** *slice*, 156, 312. **šak** to shake, 71, 312, 376. šakl shackle, 71, 312. $\dot{\mathbf{s}}$ alə shallow, 57, 243. šap shape, 57, 312, 383. šāp sharp, 61. šeg shag, 59, 315. šeed *shade*, 70, 312. šeem shame, 70, 312. $\text{see}(\mathbf{r}) \text{ share, 70, 312.}$ šeev to shave, 70, 283, 382. šel shell, 73, 312. šelf shelf, 73, 312. šenk shank, 59. šepod shepherd, 134, 243. šepste(r) starting, 134. šeu to show, 180, 382. še *she*, 350. šāt shirt, 120. šief sheaf, 179. $\dot{\mathbf{s}} \mathbf{i} \mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r}) \text{ to shear, 75, 312, 369.}$ šiop sheath, 137. šift chemise, 89. šil to shell peas, etc., 77, 312. šīld shield, 78.

šilin shilling, 89, 245, 337. šimi *chemise*, 209, 245, 311. šin shin, 89, 312. šip ship, 89, 312. šīp sheep, 130, 337. **šīt** sheet, 150. šiuk shook, 164, 312. **šod** *shod*, 169. šoel shawl. šoen shorn, 104. šoet short, 104. šop *shop*, 100, 312. šot shot, 100, 312. šotn (pp.) *shot*, 100. $\check{s}r\bar{a}d\ shroud,\ 171.$ šrenk shrank, 312. šrenk (pret.) shrunk, 59. šrimp shrimp, 89, 312. šrink to shrink, 89, 312, 367. šruko (pp.) shrunk, 111, 274, 368. šŭ she, 191, 310, 350. šū (pl. šuin) shoe, 164, 334. šū *to shoe*, 382. **šuin** *shoes*, 163. **šuit** *to shoot*, 191, 381. šūl *shovel*, 106. šūldə(r) (šūðə(r)) shoulder, 112. šun to shun, 111. **šut** *to shut*, 121, 312, 381. šutl shuttle, 121. $šu\delta\theta(\mathbf{r}) to shudder, 111, 243,$ 297, 312. $\check{\mathbf{s}}\check{\mathbf{u}}\check{\mathbf{o}}\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ ($\check{\mathbf{s}}\check{\mathbf{u}}\mathbf{l}\mathbf{d}\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$) shoulder, šuv to shove, 174, 283, 312. swie(r) to swear, 75.

t *the*, 306, 341. t *it*, 350.

tă thou, 350. tād towards. tādz towards, 61, 243, 251. $t\bar{a}e(r) tar, 75.$ $t\bar{a}\theta(\mathbf{r})$ tower, 236. taid feast time, 156, 285. taidin a present from the feast, 156. taik a low fellow, 156. tā-il (also tail) towel, 235. taim *time*, 156. tairen tyrant, 293. tais to entice, 229, 246. tait soon, 156. tak to take, 71, 312, 375. tale tallow, 57, 243, 315. tali to agree, be right, 194, 245. tan to tan, 57. tān town, 171. tap tap, 57. tario(r) terrier dog, 208, 243. $tate(\mathbf{r})$ tatter, 57. teebl table, 204. teel tail, 65, 315. teel tale, 70, 254. teele(\mathbf{r}), teelje(\mathbf{r}) tailor, 204. teem tame, 70, 285. teen taken, 70, 312. teest taste, 204. teestril rascal, good-fornothing. teitš to teach, 138, 312, 383. tel to tell, 73, 382. tem poured out, 148. tem-ful brimful, 148. temz a coarse hair sieve, 73, 285, 310. ten ten, 192, 344. tent tenth, 309, 344. ten a sting, to sting, 59. tenz *tongs*, 59, 273, 338.

teu to work zealously, 180, 285. tə, təv to, 283, 400. te thou, 306, 350. tēd turd, 120. tə-deə to-day, 399. tēf turf, 113, 283. $te-ge\delta e(\mathbf{r})$ together, 60, 297. tə-moən to-morrow, 104, 242, 399. to-moon-tnit to-morrow (the) night, 399. tēn bout, turn, to turn, 113, tēnep turnip, 228, 243. tə-nīt to-night, 399. tī to tre, 150. tie tea, 231. tiəm team, 179. tiez to tease, 137. tift condition, state, order, tik *tick*, 89, 312. til to till, 89. tīl tile, 94, 315. tim to pour out, 147, 381. tin tin, 89. tit (titi) breastmilk, 89. tīt tight, 93, 318. tīþ teeth, 147. tiu too, also, 164, 399. tiuk took, 164, 312. tiuzdə Tuesday, 159. tlād cloud, 171, 312. tlāk clerk, 207, 323. tlam to famish, 57, 312. tlap clap, 57. tlap to place, put down. tlāt *clout*, 171, 312. tlate(r) to clatter, 57. tleə clay, 315. tleem to claim, 204, 323.

tleg to stick to, as thick mud to the boots, clog, 312. tlegi sticky, dirty (of roads), stopped up with dirt, 59. tlen (pret.) clung, 59. tlenk to beat, flog, 59, 312. tletš brood of chickens, 73, 312. tlien clean, 137, 312. tlie(r) clear, 233, 312. tliet coltsfoot, 312. tlik to seize, snatch, catch hold of, 117, 312. tlim to climb, 89, 281, 312. tlip to cling, 89, 312, 367. tlip to clip, 89, 117, 312. tliu a ball of string or worsted, 96, 190, 312. tlīv to cleave, 187, 312, 365, 366. tloe claw, 63, 250, 312. tlook to scratch with the fingers or claws, 312. tlog a shoe with wooden soles, 100. tlois close, narrow, 219. tlois a field, 109. tloiz to close, 219. tlok the common black beetle, tlok to cluck, 100, 312. tlomp to tread heavily, 312. tlot clot, 100. tlovm cloven, 100. tluek cloak, 218, 312. tlueb cloth, 122, 312. tlueð to clothe, 122, 382. tlueve(r) clover, 122, 312. tluez clothes, 122, 307, 310. tlup (pp.) clung, 111. tluste(r) *cluster*, 111, 286.

tluðe(r) to get closely together, 297.too a marble of any kind, 285. took to talk, 62, 312. toən torn, 104. toez marbles, 346. tof tough, 169, 319. toidi very small, 109, 285. toist to toast, 219, 289. top top, 100. topin the front part of the hair of the head, 100, 245. topl to fall over, 100. tot a small beer glass, 100. toul toll, 103. tout *taught*, 140, 318. trai to try, 229. traifi trifle, 229. trā-il trowel, 235. trāns to beat, flog, 235. trap trap, 57. trāst to trust, 171, 310. treel to drag, 204. treen train, 204. treid to tread, 87, 372. treml to tremble, 206, 263, trešin āt en in walking out and in till weary, or tired treze(r) treasure, 206, 243, 310. trī *tree*, 187. tribl treble, threefold, 209, 348. trim to trim, 117. triet treat, to treat, 231, 381. trietl *treacle*, 231, 323. triu *true*, 190, 250. triub truth, 190. trodn trodden, 100.

trof *trough*, 100, 315. trolop a dirty, untidy person, 285. trons trance 200. trubl trouble, 226. trunl trundle, 121. trunk trunk, 226. trūzez trousers, 235, 338. tšaid to chide, 312. tšap *chap*, 186, 312. tšapil, tšapl chapel, 194, 330. tšavl to nibble at, gnaw, chew, 57, 312. tšeedž charge, 203, 330. tšeef to chafe, 204. $t\check{s}eeme(\mathbf{r})$ chamber, 204, 263, 282, 330. tše end ž change, 204, 328. $t\check{s}ee(\mathbf{r})$ chair, 205. tšelte, r) to clot, coagulate (of blood), 254. tšeu to chew, 190, 312, 382. tšerep to chirp, 91, 248, 312. tšeri *cherry*, 207, 311, 330. tšētš church, 90, 312. tšiene chinaware, 229. tšiep cheup, 179, 312. tšiet to cheat, 231, 381. tšīk cheek, 181, 312. tšikin chicken, 89, 312. tšildə(r) children, 89, 92, 312, 335. tšimli chimney, 211, 330. tšin chin, 89, 312. tšiuz to choose, 187, 312, 365, 366. tšiuz-wot whatever, 357. tšīz cheese, 130, 312. tšoek chalk, 62, 312. tšois choice, 216, 330. tšons chance, 200, 330. tsont chant, 200, 330.

tšoul see § 312. tšozn *chosen*, 100, 247. tšuek *to choke*, 105, 312. tšuf proud, haughty, 111, tšuk to throw, pitch, 226. tū two, 129, 250, 344. tub tub, 111. tuə *toe*, 122. tuəd toad, 122. tueko *token*, 122, 247. tuen (lit. the one) one of two, 122, 345. tug to tug, plod, 111, 315. tug en teu (words of nearly the same signification, coupled for the sake of emphasis) to work hard and strive. tuil *tool*, 163. tuip (pl. tīþ) tooth, 163, 336. tul to, 97, 285, 400. tuml to tumble, 111, 263, 282. tun tun, 111, 226. tun tongue, 111. tup a ram, 111. tupms twopence, 349. tusk *tusk*, 111. tutš to touch, 226. tūpri (lit. two or three) few, 192, 349. $tu\delta e(r)$ the other, 169. twain twine, 156. twais twice. 156, 250, 348. twelft twelfth, 73, 289, 309, twelv twelve, 73, 283, 344. twenti twenty, 73, 344. twentit twentieth, 344. twig twig, 89, 315. twil quill, pen, 324.

twilt quilt, 211, 254, 324. twilt to beat, thrash, 324. twin, twin, 89. twin between, 246, 400. twinkl to twinkle, 89, 312. twist twist, 89. twot pudendum fem., 250.

bak thatch, 57, 306, 312. þāzn thousand, 171, 247, 301, 302, 310, 344. pāznt thousandth, 344. pād third, 90, 261, 344. þādi third, 346. penk to thank, 59. þēti thirty, 90, 245, 344. þ**ö**tin thirteen, 344. pētīnt thirteenth, 344. þētit thirtieth. 344. þ**ðz**də *Thursday*, 172. þī thigh, 187, 318. pibl a smooth round stick used to stir porridge with. þīf thief, 187, 283. pik thick, friendly, in love with, 89 312. piml thimble, 177, 247,282. pin thin, 117. pin thing, 86, 273. pink to think, 76, 273, 306, 312, 383. pisl thistle, 89. poe to thaw, 123, 377. poen thorn, 104. poil to give ungrudgingly, 109, 306. pout thought, 167, 318. praiv to thrive, 156, 283, 306, 361. prast (pret.) thrust, 57. prep busy, throng, 59.

propms threepence, 192, 270, preš to thresh, 73. prešld threshold, 73. þra through, from, 400. þ**rī** *three*, 187, 344. $pribl\ threefold$, 209, 348. prīd thread, 130. priop to dispute, contradict, 179, 306. prietn to threaten, 179. prif through, 319. prift thrift, 89. prift (priu) through, from, on account of, 116. priu threw, 190. priu (prift) through, from, on account of, 116, 319. proə to throw, 123, 377. proit throat, 109. prosl thrush, 100, 287, 310. protl to press on the windpipe, choke, 100. prusn (pp.) thrust, 287. prust to thrust, 178, 367, 368. $pum\ thumb, 174.$ puno(r) thunder, 111, 243, 266, 298.

Ten then, 108, 306. de the, 241. de thee, 350. **To** they, 350. $\mathfrak{Fo}(\mathbf{r})$ their, 351. $\mathfrak{F}_{\Theta}(\mathbf{r})$ there, 399. desen, desel, deseln, desenz themselves, 353. ði thy, 306, 551. **Ti** thee, 155, 350. $\mathfrak{dio}(\mathbf{r})$ there, 131, 306, 354, 399. diez these, 98, 354. dis this, 89, 310, 354. disen, disel, diseln thyself, 353. **Soe** although, 401.

ие who, 122, 250, 355. **u**əd *hoard*, 104. $\mathbf{u}(\mathbf{e})$ -i $\mathbf{v}\mathbf{e}(\mathbf{r})$ whoever, 357. uək oak, 122. uəl whole, 122, 317. uəli holy, 122, 245. uəm home, 122. uenli lonely, 122, 245. **иөр** *hope*, 105. $\mathbf{u}_{\Theta}(\mathbf{r})$ oar, 122. ue(r) hoar, 122. uəs(t) hoarse, 122, 310. uets oats, 122. **u**əþ oath, 122. uez whose, 355. uf displeasure, an offended manner, rage, 315. ug to carry, 111, 315. **ugli** *ugly*, 111. ugo *hip*, 111, 247, 271. uid hood, 163. uif hoof, 163, 283. uin to harass, treat badly, 163.

ulet owl, 174, 243. ulz bean-swads, 111. umbugz sweets. uml humble, 226, 247, 263, 282. umpaiə(r) umpire, 230. unded hundred, 111, 243, 299, 344. und $\theta(\mathbf{r})$ under, 111, 400. undet hundredth, 299, 344. uni honey, 111. unien onion, 226. uni-sukl honeysuckle, 174. unsiu $\theta(\mathbf{r})$ uncertain, 240, 243. unt to hunt, 111. une(\mathbf{r}) hunger, 111, 243, 273. unkl uncle, 226. up up, 174, 400. upodn upholden. up-reit upright. ut hot, 126, 317. uðə(r) other, 169, 357. uð $\theta(\mathbf{r}) \ udder, 174, 297.$ uvm oven, 107, 270. uz us, 174, 310, 350. uzbn husband, 174, 301, 302, 310.

-v have, 395.
vā vow, 235.
vaiələt, violet, 230.
valə value, 194, 243.
vali valley, 194, 245.
vāment vermin, 207, 294.
vāniš varnish, 207, 327.
vantidž advantage, 246.
vari very, 208, 245, 250, 258, 399.
vən vein, 204.
ventə(r) to venture, 206, 288.
vesl vessel, 206.

viəl veal, 231, 250. viu view, 237, 253. vois voice, 216, 250. voide(r) large clothes' basket, 216, 250, 297.

wa why, 249. wād ward, 61, wāə(r) worse, 74, 260, 343. waf wharf, 61, 317. waid wide, 156. waie(r) wire, 157. waif wife, 156, 283. wail while, time, 156. wain wine, 156. waip to wipe, 156, 250. wait white, 156. wait ali, see § 346 note. waiz wise, 156. wak to beat, flog, 250, 306. wāk pain, to ache, 61, 312. wāk (noun) work, 74, 250, 259, 312. wākes union, workhouse, walep to beat, flog, 202, 250. wām warm, 61. wan (pret.) wound, 301. wān to warn, 61. wap (wop) to hit, throw. wāp warp, 61. warend to warrant, 202, 250, 291. wāst worst, 343. wāt wart, 61. wate weekday, 74, 243, 305, 313. web web, 73, 280. wed to wed, marry, 73, 381. wednzdə Wednesday, 170. wedž wedge, 73. wee way, 84, 315.

weed to wade, 70, 250. weedž wage, 250. week weak, 127. weel whate, 70. ween to wane, 70. $\mathbf{wee}(\mathbf{r})$ to spend or lay out money, 70, 250. weest waste, 149. weeste(r) a silly, stupid fellow. west to wait, 204, 250. weev wave, 70, 133. weeve(\mathbf{r}) to waver, 70, 250. weft weft, 73, 283. weg to wag, 59, 315. wegn wagon, 59, 247, 271. wei to weigh, 87, 315. weik the wick of a lamp or candle, 87, 312. weit weight, 93, 318. weiv to weave, 87, 283, 372. wel (noun) well, 73. wel (adv.) well, 399. welp whelp, 73. wen when, 108, 317. went, went, 73. wen thong, 59, 250, 273, 306. wesp wasp, 60. west west, 73. weš to wash, 59, 312, 383. wešes washhouse, 243. wet wet, 134, 289, 381. wetstn whetstone, 73. weder, 73, 297. we $\mathfrak{F}_{\Theta}(\mathbf{r})$ whether, 60. wede(r) the wool of a sheep which has already been shorn at least once before, 73, 306. we we, 350. wed would, 256, 397. wēd word, 104.

wāk to work, 120, 312, 383. wēl to whirl, 90. wēld world, 104. wēm worm, 120. we(r) our, 351. $\mathbf{we}(\mathbf{r})$ was, were, 396. weri to worry, 120, 245, 315. wesen, wesel, weseln, wesenz ourselves, 353. wēsit worsted, 305. wəp worth, 74, 306. wi with, 89, 307, 400. wī we, 155, 350. wid weed, 187. wide widow, widower, 89, 243, 250, 296. wient will not, 256, 397. wiepm weapon, 131, 247, 270. wio(r) to wear, 75, 369, 371. wiə(r) where, 131, 317. wieri weary, 149. wiet wheat, 137, 317. wiez to wheeze, 131. wik quick, alive, 89, 250, 312. wik week, 89, 337. wil (adv.) well, 79, 399. wil wheel, 187, 250. wil will, 89, 397. wild to wield, 78. wild wild, 92, 254. wile willow, 77, 243. wimin women, 160, 283. win to win, 89, 367. wind wind, 89. wind to wind, 89, 367, 368. winde window, 89, 243, 250. winte(r) winter, 89. win wing, 76, 250. wink to wink, 89. wip to weep, 147.

wisl to whistle, 89, 287. wishde Whitsuntide, 287. wisndə sundə Whitsunday, 287. wispə(r) to whisper, 89. wiš to wish, 177, 312. wišin *cushion*, 325. wišt silent, quiet. wit wit, 89. wită, wite? wilt thou? 256, 397. witek wicket, 286. with large carving knife, 89, 250, 306. witš which, 77, 256, 312, 355. witš witch, 89. wiðāt without, 400. wiðe (\mathbf{r}) to hurl, throw, 250. whistling (of the wiu-in wind). wizdm wisdom, wise, 160, 247. wizl weazel, 79. wizn to wither, 89, 310. wod would, 256, 397. woof (woofi) sickly to the smell, insipid to the taste, 62, 250, 319. wook to walk, 62, 312. wool wall, 62. wokp to waken, 58, 247, 271, 312, 382. woks wax, 58. woks to grow, 320. wol until, 249, 401. wonder, to wander, 58. wont want, 58, 250. wop (wap) to hit, throw. $\mathbf{wo(r)}$ was, were, 58, 396. wot (wor) what, 58, 250, 317, 355.

woto(r) water, 58, 243, 250.
wotivo(r) whatever, 357.
wotš watch, to watch, 58, 312.
wovm woven, 100, 270.
wud wood, 111.
wuo woe, 122.
wuom womb, 66, 281.
wül wool, 112.
wulzi wollen, 111.

wumon (pl. wimin) woman, 162, 283, 336. wun one, 126, 344. wun (pp.) wound, 111, 301. wun (pp.) won, 111. wun-ā somehow, 345. wund a wound, 111, 300. wundo(r) wonder, 111. wuns once, 126, 348.

z is, 310.

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